

Crossing Cultures

German, Italian and French cross-cultural references

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Foreword

We bring you Crossing Cultures as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue draws to a close, an initiative which forms part of an attempt to relaunch the European Union, inspired by the rueful words of founding father Jean Monnet: "If we were to start over again, we should begin with culture!" European culture, the culture(s) of Europe, and the culture(s) of Europeans continue to be tricky areas to define or describe, leaving no shared or sound basis for European public policy.

This is why, alongside the European Union's Eurobarometer, and the current harmonisation work being done under the aegis of Eurostat and national cultural practice surveys, it was also necessary to take an objective measurement of Europeans' intersecting cultural influences. The results of this previously-unpublished study call for cross-cultural analyses and suggest that such an approach be seized upon and developed across Europe. Indeed, those involved in promoting cross-cultural understanding and the dissemination of national cultural works throughout Europe will find much in such studies to assist them in defining and achieving their objectives.

Philippe Chantepie

Designed to evaluate the understanding which the Germans, Italians and French have of their own artistic cultural heritage and that of other countries, the Crossing Cultures study was conducted in three countries between 2007 and 2008, via poll-based survey and a common questionnaire, and targeting representative sectors of the population. It also aims to identify factors influencing the social and international dissemination of cultural references. It also deals with the images, if not stereotypes, which each country's populace has of its neighbours, and also examines some of their cultural practices (outings, amateur artistic activities, travel, media habits, etc.).

In each country, the study shows a strong correlation between the volume and variety of one's awareness of legitimate culture and one's level of education. International comparisons on the other hand, held some surprises. This survey both highlights and elucidates some initially puzzling observable differences between the three countries, for example within the same social groups, whilst revealing the scope for further research in this area. The overall results presented here should therefore be seen as an initial investigation into the issue of "mutual knowledge", opening the way to further interpretative hypotheses.

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NB

In the interests of readability, we have taken two considerable liberties. Firstly, to avoid lengthy and awkward formulations and repetitions, we use the simple present tense throughout (e.g. "67% of French people go to the cinema each year" rather than "67% of French people could be said to go to the cinema each year" or "67% of those surveyed went to the cinema each year"); we also avoid fully qualifying every single statement, for example "67% of those questioned, living in France and aged 15 or over, claimed to have gone to the cinema during the 12 months prior to the survey". Secondly, we use collective generalisations such as "the Germans travel more than the French". Moreover, we opted to present averages rather than socio-demographic variations; we have however flagged up the more significant statistical variations. In each of the three countries, the important variables remain the same: educational level, age, and geographical area (living in Paris, Berlin, northern Italy, etc).

INTERSECTING KNOWLEDGE

The extent and the dissemination of each population's cultural knowledge, particularly in terms of awareness of references specific to each country have been evaluated using a range of questions about the historical, architectural, literary, musical and cinematographic heritage of the three countries. The intention here was not to test general knowledge, but to identify any significant differences and suggest possible explanations for them.

Historical references

The knowledge of history's "big names", particularly foreign monarchs and political leaders is a prime indicator of the degree of familiarity with neighbouring cultures. The verdict is final: the Germans, French and Italians only know about those parts of their neighbours' history which happen to intersect with their own. In all three countries, history continues to be taught from a national, if not nationalistic, perspective. The only "transnational" European historical awareness is that of the conflicts which form part of the shared moments of collective memory, and are not necessarily homogenous.

Despite problems at various levels, the recent initiative to publish a Franco-German history textbook, which in turn inspired the current project for a Germano-Polish textbook, was an interesting milestone on the route towards the writing of a "pan-European" textbook. It is hard to imagine how, outside of some supranational initiative, young French people might ever come to hear about Garibaldi, young Italians about Bismarck or young Germans about Robespierre, not to mention Cromwell, Charles V, etc.

When asked to name pre-20th century German historical figures, in their unprompted responses Germans show highest recognition for the two architects of 19th century German unification, the first Emperor of Germany, Wilhelm I, and his chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Frederick the Great and Charlemagne also prove memorable figures (Table 1).

Italian and French recognition of German historical figures is very poor: almost three-quarters can not name a single leader or sovereign. The two figures achieving more than a 3% recognition rating are Bismarck and Hitler, who are in fact 20th century historical figures.

Italians also showed highest rates of recognition for the architects of their country's unity in the 19th century, naming Cavour, Mazzini, and, in first place, Garibaldi (Table 2). They also showed an awareness of the House of Savoy, naming Kings Victor Emmanuel I, II and III. It is worth pointing out however, that one quarter of Italians gives no response at all. German references to Italian history go back to the Roman Empire, both its positive side, as represented by Caesar, and its

Table 1 – Knowledge of key historical figures in pre-20th century Germany

"Please could you name two leaders or sovereigns who had an influence on pre-20th century German history?" as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
No response	11	70	72
WILHELM I	35		
BISMARCK	29	5	6
FREDERICK THE GREAT	16		
CHARLEMAGNE	12		
LUDWIG II OF BAVARIA	4		4
BARBAROSSA	3		
ADENAUER	2		
HINDENBURG	2		
HITLER	1	7	7
Other leaders	11	9	9

NB: we have only included those figures mentioned by more than 1% of those surveyed. The "other leaders" category therefore includes those mentioned by less than 1% of respondents

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Table 2 – Knowledge of key historical figures in pre-20th century Italy

as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
No response	63	26	70
GARIBALDI	3	29	4
CAVOUR		19	
MAZZINI		18	
Kings EMMANUEL and the House of Savoy		15	4
MUSSOLINI	4	3	7
The MÉDICIS		3	
JULIUS CAESAR	19		12
NERO	11		
King UMBERTO	1		
Other leaders	8	8	4

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Table 3 – Knowledge of key historical figures in pre-20th century France

as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
No response	32	40	20
NAPOLÉON	59	37	34
LOUIS XIV	30	18	29
LOUIS XVI	4	5	12
FRANÇOIS 1 ^{er}			7
CHARLEMAGNE			7
HENRI IV			7
Charles de GAULLE			4
LOUIS XV		3	3
MARIE-ANTOINETTE		4	
NAPOLÉON III	2		
ROBESPIERRE	1	6	
Other leaders	4		23

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

negative, Nero. Garibaldi, the hero of the 19th century Italian *Risorgimento* is practically absent. The French are barely any more inspired by Italian history: 70% give no response at all. Caesar is the figure most commonly cited (12% of respondents), just above Mussolini (7%), the latter being of course a 20th century figure.

The French suggest a wide variety of historical figures (Table 3) starting with Charlemagne (who they consider to be French) all the way through to General de Gaulle (also a 20th century figure), as well as a few Kings of France (e.g. Louis XV) and the Empire. Two major figures dominate however, Napoleon and Louis XIV, the latter being more oft-cited than his unfortunate descendent Louis XVI. One in five French people can not give a response to the question. The Italians are more familiar with French history than that of Germany. Nevertheless, four out of ten Italians can not name a French leader. Unsurprisingly, respondents most often cite Napoleon or Louis XIV, occasionally Marie-Antoinette and Robespierre. As the Germans fell under his rule, Napoleon very much dominates their view of French history, whilst the Sun King, Louis XIV, also has his place in their historical references.

Geographical references

Television weather forecasts serve as a daily reminder to the population of what its country's map looks like, usually showing the location of several towns and cities. Despite this constant repetition, this kind of information does little to improve geographical knowledge, which is largely acquired in school. This is clearly evidenced by the scant ability of the French to correctly situate Toulouse on a map of France.

Three quarters of French people are able to indicate Marseille on a map of France, although almost half cannot correctly name Toulouse (Table 4). Only a minority of French people (only one in five) can correctly name the two German cities of Munich and Hamburg, which are only rarely seen on a French weather forecast map.

The French have a better understanding of Italian geography, or at least they know where its capital city Rome is; less than one third of respondents could identify Milan.

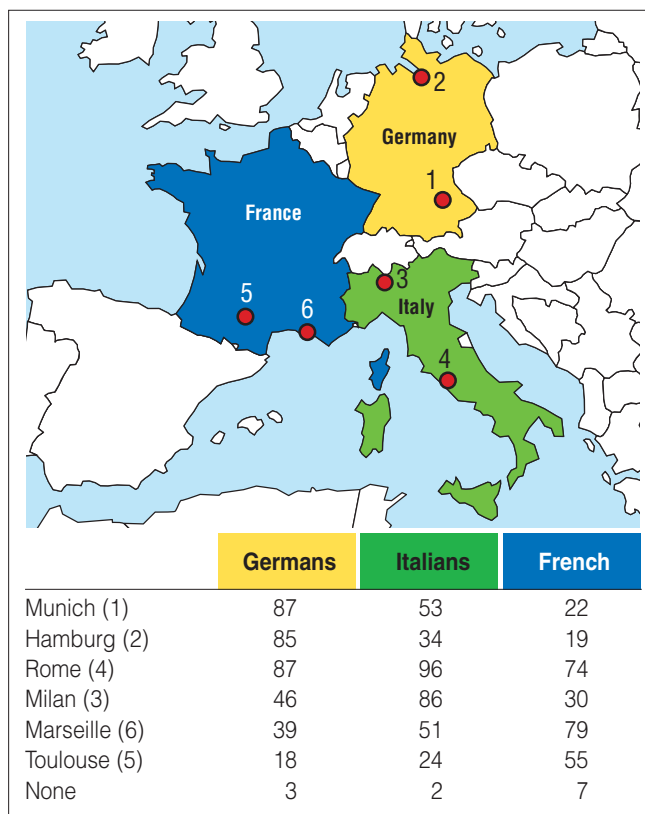
The vast majority of Germans can name Hamburg and Munich as well as Rome. They have more difficulty with Milan, Marseilles and Toulouse, with only a minority able to name them.

Practically all Italians are capable of pointing out Rome on a map of Italy, and Milan presents few problems either. On the other hand they are less clear on German cities, with only half of them being able to place Munich, falling to one third for Hamburg.

Table 4 – Name the cities on the map

“Please name the cities marked on this map of Europe”

as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

It would seem that such geographical knowledge is initially acquired in school, but it is the Germans who are the most accurate in this exercise, and of the three countries surveyed, it is they that travel the most¹, so it is also possible that mobility encourages such knowledge.

Recognition of notable sites and landmarks

Historic buildings and other landmarks contribute greatly to a country's visual image, and are assisted in this through their strong promotion in picture postcards. The three countries surveyed can identify the nationality of historic buildings fairly well, particularly when this nationality is “typified” by an original stylistic feature which is absent or at some variants from the usual style of the respondent's country, such as the roofs of the Lübeck tower for the French. On the other hand, some historic buildings are easier to name when they present some unusual feature, such as the leaning Tower of Pisa. Such results are seen repeatedly throughout this document: that which is strikingly unique is more easily transmitted, independently of national differences in history, educational curricula or other economic or cultural factors. It is therefore sur-

1. More Germans go travelling, but the French actually travel more often. See below “Cultural Practice Data”, p. 21.

prising that Mont-Saint-Michel is scarcely recognised outside of France, despite its very unusual appearance.

Germany

The Germans can recognise and identify their major heritage landmarks (Table 5). They show very high levels of recognition for Berlin's historic Brandenburg Gate and Parliament Building. Least well-recognised is Frederick the Great's palace, Sanssouci, based in Potsdam in the ex-GDR.

These German historic buildings are not well-known to the Italians, with barely half of them even recognising them as German. Even the Brandenburg Gate, achieving highest recognition, was only placed in Berlin by 4 out of 10 Italians. Few Italians could name Lübeck as the home of the Holstentor, although they nevertheless recognised it as German. As for the Sanssouci Palace, only a tiny minority could name it.

The French are able to correctly attribute all of the German landmarks, with the exception of the Sanssouci Palace. Whilst they identify Germanic architecture, they are often unable to name the historic building or the town in which it is located, with the exception of those in Berlin.

Italy

The Italian sites selected for this survey are known and correctly identified by almost all Italians (between 97% and 90% for the Roman Coliseum, Venice's Grand Canal, the Tower of Pisa, and Milan's Santa Maria Nascente Cathedral). Florence Cathedral is slightly less well-known to the Italians, who have trouble placing it in the Tuscan area.

The Germans and French tend to divide Italian landmarks into two categories: those they can immediately and easily recognise, such as the Coliseum, Venice's Grand Canal and the Tower of Pisa (each country's city and country attribution rates vary but are never lower than 70%), and then there are the lesser-known buildings such as the cathedrals of Florence and Milan, identified by less than a third of respondents. However, the Germans score higher than the French when it comes to recognising and naming Italian landmarks.

France

A large number of French people can correctly attribute their own country's landmarks and historic buildings, with the Mont-Saint-Michel at the top of the table, followed by the Louvre Pyramid. Curiously, the Château de Versailles is poorly recognised, with less than half of French people able to name it; this could perhaps be due to the particular picture used in the survey, which is taken at an oblique angle with a water feature and statue in the foreground.

The German and Italian results for recognition of French architectural landmarks are quite deceptive, as, on average, 50% of them are not attributed as French,

and only a minority (between 9% and 36% depending on the site) are able to name where they are situated. Only the Louvre is widely recognised: with its contemporary look, its uniquely-designed glass pyramid and its location right in the heart of Paris, it has benefited from considerable notoriety well beyond France's borders

Recognition rates for sites or cities is strongly related to geographical proximity; for instance, 86% of French people living in south-western France can recognise Toulouse, compared with a national average of 55%; 83% of Germans living in Bavaria recognise Neuschwanstein Castle, compared with the national average of 73%. This link is consistently verified.

Knowledge of major cultural and historical figures and their field of activity
















The following questions confirm firstly the "national" imprint of cultural and historical references, and above all the tremendous influence of school education (and perhaps also the teaching methods) on the "capital" of knowledge which the three countries have at their disposal. Young Germans study the works of Günther Grass, young Italians read Alberto Moravia and young French people read Paul Verlaine. The fact that these authors' works are available in translation in the two other languages, yet are barely known outside of their countries of origin, indicates the very powerful influence of schooling. It should therefore come as no surprise that the level of awareness of a work, within its own country, varies according to educational level. Moreover, a "nationally legitimate" work (and worthy of being studied in school) is only likely to be known outside of its country of origin by the highest-educated sector of the population. It is even sometimes the case that "national" works are better known by the more highly-educated population abroad than nationally, Monteverdi being a case in point.

Those works which are not studied at school, such as films, are more likely to be recognised abroad. In such cases, their distribution depends largely on the national characteristics of the cultural economy. Thus, Rossellini's films, with which Italians are very familiar, are relatively well-known in France, but little-known in Germany. This is not due to the fact that Germans are supposedly less enthusiastic about film than the French, or because there is a potentially smaller minority of educated film-lovers in Germany likely to enjoy foreign films, but more plausibly because of the socio-economic situation of German cinema (distribution networks, cultural habits with regard to going out, public support, etc.). Paintings and musical works which are seen as legitimate, (i.e. considered important by a

Table 5 – Recognising famous historic buildings and landmarks

“In which country is this landmark situated? Can you name it?”

as a %

	Correct country attribution				Correct name of landmark or place		
	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French
	97	50	64	Brandenburg Gate (Berlin)	96	39	44
	86	49	60	Neuschwanstein/ Palace of Ludwig II of Bavaria	73	16	13
	86	43	70	The Parliament Building/Reichstag (Berlin)	83	26	30
	76	57	70	Lübeck	60	12	3
	66	23	29	The Sanssouci Palace	49	6	2
	94	97	88	The Coliseum (Rome)	87	96	72
	95	95	92	The Grand Canal/Rialto (Venice)	93	94	87
	50	93	35	The Santa Maria Nascente Cathedral (Milan)	27	90	8
	93	93	94	The Tower of Pisa	92	93	86
	67	90	66	Cathedral of Florence	27	78	15
	49	52	91	Mont-Saint-Michel	21	33	86
	56	65	84	The Louvre Pyramid (Paris)	46	58	82
	36	25	77	The Pont du Gard	10	9	53
	61	53	75	The Château de Chambord	11	15	38
	48	54	63	Versailles	33	36	46

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Knowledge of works and their authors

Those surveyed were given a list of works which are *a priori* famous, (literary artistic and musical works), and were firstly asked if they had read, listened to or heard of them, and if they could name their authors. It is firstly worth noting that “national” works are better known than foreign ones, particularly in the case of literary works. Even though there may be no “language barrier” Ravel’s *Bolero* or Verdi’s *Rigoletto* do not always manage to overcome cultural or geographic boundaries. It is likely that certain works such as Dante’s *Divine Comedy* or *Cyrano de Bergerac* initially, through school curricula, are instrumental in constructing national identity, before being seen as part of the European, or even universal cultural tradition. Responses to this question also clearly highlight the fact that of all three countries studied, the Germans are most open to the culture of others, and the French the least. Perhaps in this instance these differences might be explained by a country’s openness to culture generally, rather than the degree of openness to neighbouring cultures, as well as the inclusion of an arts subject in the school curricula.

The Germans know on average two out of the three works of German provenance, with *The Ninth Symphony* well ahead of the two written works *Capital* and *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. Over two thirds of Germans attribute the *Ninth Symphony* to Beethoven, and around half were able to name Marx as the author of *Capital*, whilst only 41% attribute *The Sorrows of Young Werther* to Goethe. With the exception of the *Ninth Symphony*, the Italians and French have a poor recognition rate for these German works. The Italians and Germans know Beethoven better than the French, the fact that the fourth movement of Beethoven’s *Ninth Symphony*, *Ode to Joy* has been chosen as a European hymn has probably contributed to the popularity of the work. For the Italians, the recognition of the other works does not rise above 36% (for *Capital*). Only 5% of French people know that Goethe is the author of *The Sorrows of Young Werther*.

Virtually all Italians know *The Divine Comedy* and unfailingly attribute it to its Florentine author. The two other Italian works are less well known. The opera *Rigoletto* is well-known, but only half of Italians can actually attribute it to Verdi. As for the *Creation of Adam* on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, half of all Italians have never heard of it, although almost all of those who have can attribute it to Michelangelo.

When it comes to the Germans, things are somewhat different: *Rigoletto* is the best-known work but only one third can attribute it to Verdi. The *Creation of Adam* is in second place, with almost half of all Germans aware of the painting, and one third able to name the artist Michelangelo. *The Divine Comedy* is the least-well known work, with even fewer Germans able attribute it to Dante. The figures for French recognition of *The Creation of Adam* and *The Divine Comedy* are similar to those of the Germans.

The French works selected, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, *The Little Prince* and *Bolero* are well known to French people, but when asked to name the author of these works, scores are rather less impressive: more than half of the French can name Ravel as the composer of *Bolero*, and Saint-Exupéry as the author of *The Little Prince* but only 16% know that Edmond Rostand is the author of *Cyrano de Bergerac*. *Bolero* and *The Little Prince* are well known in Germany, whilst only one third of them are aware of *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Ravel, the composer of *Bolero*, is better known than the writer Saint-Exupéry and, *a fortiori*, Edmond Rostand. There is a reasonable level of knowledge of the French works within Italy, but the same cannot be said of their authors. In Italy, as in Germany, the musician Ravel is the better-known than the two writers.

Table 6 – Knowledge of works and their authors

“Please see the following list of literary, musical or artistic works. For each, please could you tell me whether you know of the work, even if you have never actually read, seen or heard it? [and if so] can you also name the author?”
as a %

	Have read, seen or heard				Correct attribution of author		
	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French
<i>The Ninth Symphony</i>	84	77	82	BEETHOVEN	71	70	53
<i>Capital</i>	64	36	22	MARX	53	33	16
<i>The Sorrows of Young Werther</i>	56	26	13	GOETHE	41	16	5
<i>The Divine Comedy</i>	28	96	28	DANTE	50	94	10
<i>Rigoletto</i>	60	72	39	VERDI	53	50	10
<i>The Creation of Adam</i> (The Sistine Chapel)	49	51	50	MICHELANGELO	65	44	29
<i>Bolero</i>	70	62	73	RAVEL	35	37	58
<i>The Little Prince</i>	71	54	84	SAINT-EXUPÉRY	28	16	54
<i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i>	33	59	89	Edmond ROSTAND	3	13	16

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

national elite), without featuring on the school curriculum, only have a very small following abroad. This almost always involves contemporary or recent works. When they are known (as is the case for the work of Doisneau or Boulez), they tend to be known to a highly-educated elite, always a narrower group than the national elite.

As there is no reason to suppose, *a priori*, that the Germans and Italians are less interested in Doisneau's photography or Boulez's music than the French, the disparity may be explained by the distribution network for these works. Moreover, the lists of works did not include any very recent references; thus, the poor distribution of work by Doisneau or Stockhausen indicates that, generally speaking, it is 20th century art which struggles most to find an audience, whether nationally or further afield.

Major German figures

The Germans have a good knowledge of their country's major cultural and historical figures, with more than half of those names listed having some resonance with them (Table 7). For what these figures are actually renowned, however, they are less certain. The best-known individuals are those famous for their musical achievements, headed by Bach, followed by Haydn and Karajan.

Bismarck, Germany's first chancellor and the statesman who oversaw its unification, was identified by over

80% of Germans. Günther Grass is the best-known writer, ahead of 18th century writers such as Kleist and Hölderlin. In the domain of art, Caspar David Friedrich and Cranach are relatively well-known, putting them slightly ahead of Holbein. The philosopher Hegel is scarcely better known in his homeland than he is in Italy or France.

For both the Italians and the French, Bach remains the most emblematic figure. After him come Karajan and Bismarck, with a third of the population of both of these countries able to name their field of activity (Table 8). Karajan is slightly better-known in France, undoubtedly due to his years spent as conductor of the Orchestre de Paris. All other figures in both art and literature remain largely unrecognised in the two other countries.

Major Italian figures

The Italians show a good awareness of Italian personalities: 10 out of 15 are recognised, and 9 out of 15 correctly attributed to their field (Table 8). It is worth noting that Tintoretto's reputation far outstrips that of Veronese. Three names are particularly low on the list: Giorgio Strehler is not unknown but hardly anyone can place him; Hugo Pratt, another contemporary is only recognised by a handful of Italians, and the same goes for Monteverdi.

The French have a slightly better knowledge of the great Italian figures than they do those from Germany.

Table 7 – Knowledge of major German cultural and historical figures and their field of activity

“Please see this list of German personalities. Indicate which of them you know. What is their field of activity?”

as a %

	Recognition rating				Association of name + field		
	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French
Johann-Sebastian BACH	98	78	84	Music	96	77	81
Otto VON BISMARCK	95	44	46	Politics	84	35	35
Joseph HAYDN	86	13	30	Music	82	12	26
Günther GRASS	87	13	16	Literature	79	8	9
Herbert VON KARAJAN	77	33	44	Music	72	30	40
Heinrich VON KLEIST	75	6	10	Literature	56	1	1
Caspar David FRIEDRICH	56	8	10	Painting	43	5	2
Friedrich HÖLDERLIN	57	5	5	Literature	42	4	2
Lucas CRANACH	47	4	3	Painting	41	3	2
Hans HOLBEIN	51	5	5	Painting	33	3	3
G.W.F. HEGEL	46	32	29	Literature	24	22	16
Walter GROPIUS	36	5	3	Architecture	23	4	1
Karlheinz STOCKHAUSEN	23	10	9	Music	13	7	6
Pina BAUSCH	13	6	10	Dance	8	2	5
Friedrich MURNAU	20	4	6	Cinema	2	1	2
Average	8,7	2,7	3,1	Average	7	2,1	2,3

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

This is especially the case for the influential figures of cinema, art and, to a lesser extent, literature. Indeed, some individuals have a greater audience in France than in their native country: one third of French people know of Monteverdi compared with only one quarter of Italians, and Hugo Pratt is slightly better known in France, where there is a better market and institutional recognition for cartoons, compared with Italy. Whilst the Franco-Italian artist Modigliani might be better known in Italy, he is also well-recognised by the French. Gior-

gio Strehler on the other hand may not be well known in Italy, but he is no better known in France, despite a spell as director at the Odeon theatre in Paris in the 1980s.

Major French figures

The French can identify an average of 8.5 French people out of the 15, but struggle to state what they are best known for (Table 9). They are more at home with

Table 8 – Knowledge of major Italian cultural and historical figures and their field of activity

as a %

	Recognition rating				Association of name + field		
	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French
Luciano PAVAROTTI	91	99	94	Music	88	98	91
R. SANZIO (known as RAPHAËL)	41	85	46	Painting	37	83	41
Nanni MORETTI	22	85	25	Cinema	5	81	11
Camillo Benzo CAVOUR	7	93	9	Politics	2	80	6
Alberto MORAVIA	14	83	17	Literature	9	79	12
Sandro BOTTICELLI	41	79	53	Painting	22	76	31
Giulietta MASINA	13	73	18	Cinema	10	72	15
Roberto ROSSELLINI	59	81	66	Cinema	17	70	28
Amedeo MODIGLIANI	11	71	51	Painting	8	64	44
Primo LEVI	14	70	22	Literature	5	64	13
TINTORETTO	21	69	15	Painting	13	59	13
Paolo VERONESE	16	43	30	Painting	7	32	25
Giorgio STREHLER	7	47	5	Theatre	1	26	1
Claudio MONTEVERDI	36	31	41	Music	26	25	33
Hugo PRATT	9	22	32	Literature	1	15	18
Average	4,0	10,3	5,2	Average	2,5	9,2	3,8

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Table 9 – Knowledge of major French cultural and historical figures and their field of activity

as a %

	Recognition rating				Association of name + field		
	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French
Émile ZOLA	49	44	90	Literature	45	41	84
Paul VERLAINE	7	25	84	Literature	3	15	78
Paul GAUGUIN	46	51	75	Art	41	48	70
Jean RACINE	7	14	79	Literature	2	7	70
François RABELAIS	12	15	76	Literature	3	7	63
Hector BERLIOZ	17	11	74	Music	11	10	55
Marcel MARCEAU	36	42	66	Theatre	18	13	51
Albert UDERZO	20	6	51	Literature	16	5	47
LE CORBUSIER	18	25	55	Architecture	10	20	38
Robert DOISNEAU	3	3	47	Photography	1	1	34
Georges MÉLIÈS	5	5	29	Cinema	3	3	18
Pierre BOULEZ	6	4	27	Music	4	3	18
Claude LÉVI-STRAUSS	43	53	61	Philosophy	3	5	13
Marcel DUCHAMP	16	16	15	Art	5	9	7
Ariane MNOUCHKINE	6	3	21	Theatre	1	0	6
Average	2,9	3,2	8,5	Average	1,7	1,9	6,5

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

literature, with writers such as Zola, Verlaine and Racine. However, whilst the French may know Rabelais by name, 40% of them don't know in which area he is most famous. Within the plastic arts, only Gauguin emerges with any recognition. Fifty percent of the French have heard of Le Corbusier, but their awareness of his connection with architecture is more tenuous, and the same goes for Doisneau. Half of all French people recognise mime artist Marcel Marceau as a theatrical performer, whilst Méliès enjoys only minimal recognition (less than twenty percent of French people). In the field of music, although three quarters of French people are familiar with the name Berlioz, only half of them knew he was a musician. The remainder of more contemporary figures such as Pierre Boulez, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Ariane Mnouchkine are largely unknown.

Émile Zola and Paul Gauguin are the French artists with whom the Germans and Italians are most familiar. Moreover, Marceau the mime is slightly better known in Germany than Italy, as is Albert Uderzo. Le Corbusier enjoys greater recognition in Italy, as does Verlaine. Berlioz has similar recognition ratings in both countries. However, what is surprising is that Marcel Duchamp is recognised in his field by as many Germans and Italians as French people, albeit that this rate is very low. Finally, the French photographer Robert Doisneau is conspicuous in his lack of fame in either Italy or Germany.

Some significant variations

Generational variations

Whilst of the four classical musicians, (Bach, Haydn, Monteverdi and Berlioz), the names Bach and Monteverdi are best known beyond their own countries, Bach is by far the most famous across all generations in Germany and Italy, but he is significantly less well known to 15-24 year-olds in France (59% compared with the national average of 81%). For an educated minority, Monteverdi seems to enjoy cross-national fame (between 52% and 58% of those who have been through higher education) but remains unknown to those in the youngest age bracket (8% in France, 9% in Germany and 17% in Italy)

Educational variations

Berlioz is best known to the French, but also to the better educated Germans (41%). The two major contemporary composers enjoy the same level of fame in their native countries (between 13% for Stockhausen and 18% for Pierre Boulez), but with two to three times greater recognition amongst the highest educated sections of the population (39% for the former and 39% for the latter amongst those with higher education qualifications). In the architectural field, Le Corbusier (38% in France) is more famous than Walter Gropius (23%

in Germany), but both have equal levels of fame in their native countries amongst those who have higher education qualifications (64% for Le Corbusier and 60% for Gropius). Hegel is identified as a philosopher by 38% of Germans, 32% of Italians and 22% of French people who have attained secondary education qualifications (equivalent to A-level).

Regional variations

Berliners are a distinctly anomalous group: certain influential figures with what might be seen as limited renown turn out to be particularly well known in the German capital, e.g. Le Corbusier (32% compared with 38% in France) and Modigliani (known to 46% of Berliners, but only 10% of Germans as a whole).

Pina Bausch's fame is subject to some interesting international variations: 31% in the German capital and 18% in her native region Westphalia, compared with 8% across Germany as a whole, and 17% amongst those French people whose range of cultural practices is most diverse. In Italy, where the choreographer's renown is virtually nil (2%), she is still only known to 8% of the highest educated members of the population.

Literature: works and writers

The overall conclusion is clear: national literature does not travel well, even in the case of the works by such colossi as Victor Hugo. However there are some unusual results, such as the relative popularity of Prévert in Italy, Umberto Eco in Germany, Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* in Italy, and the very poor knowledge of foreign works by the French. *Death in Venice* provides us here with a paradigmatic example: when a "national" but "rare" or erudite work is better known outside of its native country than it is in its own, there is usually a very specific reason for this. In this case, the fact that Visconti made a film version of Thomas Mann's book and that it is based in an Italian town. One might search in vain for a unifying factor, and a number of differences initially look like anomalous enigmas on which further research could cast no further light. However some unusual results do suggest interesting hypotheses. For instance, the fact that fewer French than Germans know the name of the author of *The Name of the Rose*, whilst we also know that the French are keen cinema-goers, and that Jean-Jacques Annaud's film adaptation of Eco's work was tremendously successful in France; this would seem to suggest (and we will see further similar indications of this later on) that the French are not in the habit of referencing works (or are less likely to do so than the Germans). If this is a fair assumption, we may have identified a major cultural difference, probably linked to teaching practice or the social status of learned culture, i.e. the French are less concerned with cultural refer-

ences than the Germans, although this is no barrier to knowledge.

Almost all Germans have read the tales of the Brothers Grimm. The 19th century journalist and poet Heinrich Heine also occupies a relatively high profile position within German culture, well ahead of Gotthold Lessing or Rainer Marie Rilke (Table 10). The Italians and French both remain largely ignorant of German literature, despite it being widely available in translation in their own languages.

Only the Brothers Grimm are genuinely well-known, by the Italians and the French alike.

Table 10 – Literature reading rates

as a %

Authors read*	Germans	Italians	French
German authors			
The Brothers GRIMM	92	49	47
Heinrich HEINE	72	4	4
Gotthold LESSING	46	2	1
Rainer Maria RILKE	45	5	6
Christa WOLF	25	8	4
Friedrich NOVALIS	13	3	1
Italian authors			
Gabriele D'ANNUNZIO	2	54	3
Italo CALVINO	2	51	4
BOCCACCIO	15	50	4
Leonardo SCIASCIA	1	37	2
Elsa MORANTE	2	26	4
Curzio MALAPARTE	3	11	6
French authors			
Victor HUGO	28	33	87
Jacques PRÉVERT	2	21	80
Alexandre DUMAS	41	30	69
Arthur RIMBAUD	5	9	69
André MALRAUX	3	2	50
Michel TOURNIER	2	2	19

* At least one text.

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Italian literature is very poorly known, even in Italy itself. There are however three writers with whom the majority of Italians are familiar: Boccaccio, D'Annunzio and Calvino. The Sicilian writer Sciascia has a greater readership than Elsa Morante, whilst Malaparte is known only to a select few. Of the five Italian writers, only Boccaccio has any real readership in Germany, and even then it is rather slim, at 15%. On the other hand, all the Italian writers are unknown to the French.

The French know of and have read the French writers, with Victor Hugo and Jacques Prévert having the greatest readership, followed by Alexandre Dumas and Arthur Rimbaud. It is clearly the case that these are writers whose texts are read and studied at school. This is certainly less likely for André Malraux. 20% of French people have read Michel Tournier. Breaking national boundaries, Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas enjoy a readership in Italy and Germany, whilst in Italy there is also a reasonable readership of texts by Jacques Prévert.

“Who is the author of *Steppenwolf*?”

Linking the work with its author is always slightly trickier, as the results for the three countries show (Table 11). The number of Germans able to name the author of German work was as low as 25% in one instance, whilst German works on the whole remain virtually unknown to the French. The Italians were conspicuous in their greater ability to identify the work of Thomas Mann which inspired the Italian film-maker Luchino Visconti, and in recognising Hermann Hesse as the author of *Steppenwolf*.

Of the three Italian works, the best known is *The Name of the Rose*, with over half of Italians able to correctly identify Umberto Eco as its author. *The Leopard*, the Prince of Lampedusa's only novel, is recognised by more than a third of Italians, which constitutes a reasonable recognition rate for a writer with such a limited output; however, this may be due more to its pop-

Table 11 – Knowledge of literature: works and writers

“Please see this list of literary and philosophical works. Can you name the author for each?”

as a %

	Works	Authors	Germans	Italians	French
Works by German authors	<i>The Lost Honour of Katarina Blum</i>	Heinrich BÖLL	32	2	1
	<i>Steppenwolf</i>	Hermann HESSE	31	8	2
	<i>Death in Venice</i>	Thomas MANN	25	16	3
Works by Italian authors	<i>The Name of the Rose</i>	Umberto Eco	38	54	10
	<i>The Leopard</i>	G.T. DI LAMPEDUSA	6	37	2
	<i>The Tartar Steppe</i>	Dino BUZZATI	1	14	2
Works by French authors	<i>The Stranger</i>	Albert CAMUS	7	6	28
	<i>Madame Bovary</i>	Gustave FLAUBERT	9	29	24
	<i>Discourse on Method</i>	René DESCARTES	3	13	16

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

ularity as a film adaptation, which has been screened on television many times, than to its actually having been read. That said, Dino Buzzati's work *The Tartar Steppe* does not enjoy the same level of recognition, despite the fact that it was made into a film by the director Valerio Zurlini.

In Germany none of the Italian works were well known, except for *The Name of the Rose*. The French however, neither recognised the name of *The Name of the Rose* nor could they name its author, despite the fact that Eco's work was made into a film by director Jean-Jacques Annaud. Unsurprisingly, the French know the French works best of all, although what is perhaps astonishing is that more of them they should not have been able to name Flaubert as the author of *Madame Bovary* and that so few of them managed to name Camus as the author *The Stranger*. What is equally striking is that the as many Italians as French are able to correctly name the author of *Madame Bovary* and know that Descartes is the author of *Discourse on Method*.

Some significant variations

In Germany, classic authors are more widely read in the former GDR, e.g. Lessing (73% compared with an average of 43%), Heinrich Heine (89% in Thuringia compared with 72%), and Friedrich Novalis (20% in the Mecklenburg-West Pomerania region as compared with a 13% average).

Conversely, 20th century writers such as Hermann Hesse, Heinrich Böll and Thomas Mann are less well known there. Günther Grass is also less renowned there than he is in the rest of the country.

Berliners are partial to French literature, with 75% of them having read Victor Hugo against a 28% national average; 74% have read Alexandre Dumas (national rate 41%), which outstrips even the French average of 69%; finally, 52% can name the author of *Madame Bovary* compared with 9% of average Germans.

Theatre: works and playwrights

When it comes to theatre, the Italians are an anomalous group. It is not impossible that both German plays may be performed more often in Italy than in France. Moreover, as has been suggested, it may well be that the French know these plays without being able to name their authors. Moreover, despite (or perhaps because of) the prevalence of classical 17th century classical theatre in French school curricula, the French are not especially keen on it.

Unsurprisingly, the Germans know *Faust* and correctly attribute its authorship to Goethe (Table 12). The Germans are less familiar with pieces by foreign writers, with the possible exception of *The Hypochondriac*, for which almost one third of them could correctly name the author. By comparison, the French have the worst knowledge of German theatre (7% for Goethe's *Faust*). Although one third of Italians recognised Goldoni as the author of *The Servant to Two Masters*, 20% cited German authors. A similar proportion identified the works by Pirandello and Moliere. One third of French people are unable to name the author of *The Hypochondriac*. Even more surprisingly, almost two thirds of them were unable to attribute *The Cid* to Corneille. It is unsurprising, then, that foreign plays got very low scores.

Those Germans with higher education qualifications are almost unfailingly able to attribute *Faust* to Goethe (98%), and also very likely to name Brecht as the author of *The Threepenny Opera* (83%). In Italy, the same goes for Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, (90% of the highest educated Italians), and also for *The Hypochondriac* in France (90% of the highest-educated French people). However, only 64% of those French people who have gone through higher education are aware that Corneille is the author of *The Cid*, and only 22% know that Goethe wrote *Faust*. Within the same demographic, only 5% of French people can correctly attribute Goldoni's play, as compared with 21% of the equivalent population in Germany.

Table 12 – Knowledge of theatre

"Please see the following list of plays. Can you name the author for each?"

as a %

	Works	Authors	Germans	Italians	French
Plays by German playwrights	<i>Faust</i>	J.F. VON GOETHE	75	19	7
	<i>The Threepenny Opera</i>	Bertolt BRECHT	49	16	4
Plays by Italian playwrights	<i>Six Characters in Search of an Author</i>	Luigi PIRANDELLO	1	47	2
	<i>The Servant to Two Masters</i>	Carlo GOLDONI	5	35	2
Plays by French playwrights	<i>The Hypochondriac</i>	MOLIÈRE	29	46	66
	<i>The Cid</i>	Pierre CORNEILLE	1	5	36

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Opera: works and composers

Although opera-going is less common than theatre-going², all three populations know their opera better than they know their theatre. The Germans have the best overall knowledge of opera, whilst the Italians have the best knowledge their own country's works.

With *Carmen* as the jewel in their crown, the French are the most likely to have heard an operatic aria (Table 13). Although Italian opera dominates the scene, *The Barber of Seville* has a slightly larger audience in France than in Italy. Three quarters of French people can correctly name the composer of *Carmen*, as can fifty percent of all Germans and Italians, so in that respect it is no less well known than the Italian operas. *Faust* and *La Vie parisienne* are markedly less well known, even within their countries of origin. These two operas are comparable to the three German operas in terms of audiences within their own countries and abroad. The Germans know their own country's operatic works and are reasonably competent when it comes to identifying Italian composers (Table 13). The same cannot be said for the French. The Italians have a good understanding of Italian operas and can name their authors; the number of them who have already heard a German or French opera is somewhat lower.

Few French people can name the composer of an opera, even when it comes to French composers. Thus, Bizet remains largely unrecognised by the French even though many of them are familiar with *Carmen*, and although they may have already listened to *La Vie parisienne*, few of them cite Offenbach as its composer. Fewer than 10% are capable of attributing *The Barber of Seville* to Rossini and only 16% associate the name

Verdi with *La Traviata*, despite the frequency with which it is heard. It is hard to draw any conclusions about German opera, which seems to enjoy so little recognition in France.

Some significant variations

Knowledge of operatic works varies in all territories not only according to educational level, but also, most significantly, according to age. Whatever the country, the 50 + generation distinguishes itself from the rest. To give just a few examples:

- *Der Rosenkavalier*: 54% of Germans aged 50 and over have already heard it (against a 39% average), and 45% of them can name its composer (against a 33% average).
- *La Vie parisienne*: 46% of French people aged 50 and over have already heard it (compared with a 28% average) – this average figure also covers some wild variances: 5% of those aged 15-24, 11% of those aged 25-34, 22% of those aged 35-49. It is also worthy of note that whilst 25% of French people aged 50 + can associate the work with its composer, this percentage falls to 9% amongst the 35-49 age group, 4% of 25-34 year-olds and only 2% of those aged 15-24.

Generational differences do also exist in Italy, but are much less significant than elsewhere.

The plastic arts: works and artists

It is only in Italy that the teaching of art history is given any real priority, and, in addition to their knowledge of their own country's "national" masterpieces, the Italians also have a slightly better knowledge of for-

Table 13 – Knowledge of opera: works and composers

"Please see this list of operas. Please indicate which ones you have seen or heard, whether in part or in its entirety." [and if so] "Please can you also name the author?"

as a %

	Have seen or heard				Author attribution		
	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French
German operas							
Twilight of the Gods	33	10	8	Richard WAGNER	20	10	14
Der Rosenkavalier	33	6	2	Richard STRAUSS	39	7	8
Fidelio	27	10	4	Ludwig VAN BEETHOVEN	32	9	17
Italian operas							
La Traviata	35	70	16	Giuseppe VERDI	38	66	57
Tosca	19	55	7	Giacomo PUCCINI	30	59	34
The Barber of Seville	17	42	7	Gioacchino ROSSINI	41	52	59
French operas							
Carmen	26	28	24	Georges BIZET	52	45	76
La Vie parisienne (Parisian Life)	9	2	14	Jacques OFFENBACH	8	5	28
Faust	4	6	7	Charles GOUNOD	10	13	32
None	40	25	66		35	26	19

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008







2. See below "Cultural Practice Data", § Outings, p. 22.

eign works than the Germans or French. However, all three countries have a fairly low knowledge of the plastic arts. Worthy of note here is the recognition rating for Michelangelo's *David*, which is far better known in Germany than France. Nine out of ten Italians, and almost as many Germans, recognise the *Mona Lisa* as the work of Leonardo da Vinci (Table 14). Admittedly, two-thirds of French people also recognise the world-famous picture which draws great crowds to the Louvre, but the reputation of the painting remains greater than that of its creator. Michelangelo's association with *David* is generally well established in the minds of the Italians, with four out of ten Germans also making this connection. Again, the French show themselves to have less knowledge in this area: half of French people can

Table 14 – Knowledge of the plastic arts: works and artists

"Please name the artist for this work."

as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
<i>Melancholy</i> Albrecht DÜRER 	23	4	3
<i>Portrait of Mrs P. in the South</i> Paul KLEE 	8	5	2
<i>Mona Lisa</i> Leonardo DA VINCI 	72	87	68
<i>David</i> MICHELANGELO 	41	70	25
<i>The Thinker</i> Auguste RODIN 	9	8	49
<i>The Ballet Class</i> Edgar DEGAS 	8	15	12

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

name Rodin as the creator of *The Thinker*, whilst the work remains largely unknown in the two other countries. Degas' association with *The Ballet Class* is less well established in France than it is in Italy. According to this survey, the two German works are much less well known, particularly in their own country. Only one in four Germans name Dürer as the artist of *Melancholy*.

Significant variations

In the field of plastic arts, education has a very definite influence. Once again, the Berliners stand out from the crowd, with better recognition of *The Ballet Class* than the average French person (33% as compared with 12%) and in line with those French people with higher education qualifications (34%). They are just as able as the Italians to associate *David* with his sculptor (73% compared with 70% of Italians) On the other hand, the former East Germany lags behind in this area, as does Southern Italy and the west Paris Basin in France

Cinema: films and their directors

Incontrovertibly, it is in France that one is most likely to see foreign films, German films in particular. The Italians' famous love of film, however, seems rather Italo-centric. *The Tin Drum* receives an interesting rating here: as a film about German history it is very well known to the Germans but to very few Italians, whilst it found a considerable following in France. Possibly its nationality rather than its theme was a barrier to it being seen in Italy. On the other hand, it is hard to find

Table 15 – Knowledge of cinema: films

"Please see this list of films. For each film, please state whether you have seen it. Can you name the director?"

as a %

Films seen	Germans	Italians	French
Films by German directors			
<i>The Tin Drum</i>	67	7	28
<i>M</i>	21	8	10
<i>Bagdad Café [Out of Rosenheim]</i>	18	8	41
<i>Paris, Texas</i>	16	6	12
Films by Italian directors			
<i>Life is beautiful</i>	22	85	46
<i>Once Upon a Time in America</i>	32	53	31
<i>La Strada</i>	28	36	26
<i>The Damned</i>	28	20	16
Films by French directors			
<i>The Fifth Element</i>	34	23	61
<i>Les Enfants du paradis</i>	14	7	38
<i>Jules et Jim</i>	7	6	26
<i>Hiroshima mon amour</i>	12	8	24

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

an explanation as to why a film with such a Hollywood style and mass appeal as *The Fifth Element* had such a small audience in Italy. The most likely explanation seems to be the influence of American cinema in European distribution networks, which is only restrained in France due to their public policy on supporting innovative film-making.

Italian films get a much greater audience than either German or French films, with the exception of the *Fifth Element* (Table 15). *Life is Beautiful* is by far the most popular. Almost 90% of Italians have seen Benigni's film, almost twice as many as have seen *Once Upon a Time in America*, which, admittedly, came out almost a quarter of a century ago (1984). Audiences for *La Strada* and *The Damned* are scarcely higher in Italy than in the other two countries. *The Fifth Element* has similar popularity levels in France as *The Tin Drum* does in Germany, although the former saw greater success abroad than the latter. Although *The Tin Drum* saw some success in France, it failed to draw the crowds in Italy.

Bagdad Café [*Out of Rosenheim*] drew a greater audience in France than it did in its director's native country. *Paris, Texas* is another film which received little attention in Germany, only slightly more than in France. These two films have a smaller audience than that for Fritz Lang's 1931 classic, *M*.

Of the three cult French films, *Les Enfants du paradis* has attracted most viewers (more than one third of the French have seen it). Only a small proportion of Germans have seen either *Les Enfants du paradis* or *Hiroshima mon amour*. Moreover, they are also largely unknown to the vast majority of Italians, as are all of the German films.

Leading French, German and Italian figures

In addition to school, the main vehicles for cultural knowledge are the written and broadcast press, television and, to a lesser extent, cinema. Those references schools judge unsuitable for transmission tend to be visual, perhaps they are deemed too recent, too limited in their appeal, or, conversely, too popular, or because they seem rather to constitute entertainment rather than knowledge (cinema, theatre, etc.). How, then, do these images fare, particularly those of national icons (Table 16)? Apart from some very rare exceptions (photographs of Hanna Schygulla and Bruno Ganz), the faces of each country's major figures are very widely recognised by their fellow citizens: educational background and age have no bearing on this. We are therefore looking at mass national references.

Generally speaking, these references are always less well known abroad than they are at home, and the disparities between national and foreign recognition rat-

ings can be huge (86% of Italians recognise Vittorio Gassmann as compared with 5% of Germans) or more moderate (92% of the French recognise Jean-Paul Belmondo as do 66% of Italians). Thus we also see that some of the major sporting figures are very rarely recognised abroad. It is the French personalities such as actors and politicians who enjoy the widest foreign recognition whilst the Germans perform best overall when it comes to recognising foreign personalities.

Photographs of major figures

In Germany, the contemporary political and sporting figures are recognised by almost everyone (Table 16). The picture of Albert Einstein is also very widely recognised. However, the same cannot be said for Hanna Schygulla and Bruno Ganz, of whom most Germans are completely unaware, despite Ganz having famously played Hitler in *Downfall*, a film which caused something of a sensation in Germany. Karl Marx rates averagely, although achieves an 89% recognition rating in the former East Germany.

Both French and Italians alike have a problem putting names to faces: 60% of Italians and 70% of the French either don't know, or give the wrong answer. Only two personalities really stand out: racing driver Michael Schumacher, and scientist Albert Einstein. With the exception of Willy Brandt, who has a vanishing recognition rating in neighbouring countries, the Italians and the French seem more at home with politicians and sporting figures than artists (viz Hanna Schygulla and Bruno Ganz).

Italians show excellent recognition of their own leading figures, whether politicians, sportspeople or film actors: an almost flawless performance.









On the other hand, the Germans and French are rarely able to name Italian politicians, sportspeople or cultural figures. Silvio Berlusconi's face is familiar to almost half of them, but his predecessor Romano Prodi lags well behind him.








Behind them come the two film actresses Claudia Cardinale and Ornella Muti. Interestingly, more Germans than French recognise Claudia Cardinale, although she has long been a resident of Paris. The faces of Roberto Baggio, Giuseppe Garibaldi and Vittorio Gassmann are practically unknown in these countries.







The French personalities are well recognised in their own country. Artists are more popular than the major political and historical figures, with the exception of the eclectic but still very sought-after actress, Catherine Deneuve.

Jean-Paul Belmondo is well-recognised in Germany and Italy. The two historical figures of Louis XIV and de Gaulle come out well, with the former being recog-

Table 16 – Recognition and naming of major figures

	Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French		Germans	Italians	French				
Helmut KOHL		99	34	40	Willy BRANDT		85	18	13	Hanna SCHYGULLA		21	10	3	
Michael SCHUMACHER		98	92	64	Albert EINSTEIN		84	67	51	Bruno GANZ		11	7	2	
Steffi GRAF		98	27	33	Karl MARX		59	45	16						
(Average for all 8)					5,6					3,0					2,2

Silvio BERLUSCONI		45	99	50	Ornella MUTI		36	93	22	Claudia CARDINALE		42	76	31	
Romano PRODI		32	99	23	Roberto BAGGIO		14	88	8						
Guiseppe GARIBALDI		8	94	6	Vittorio GASSMAN		5	86	9						
(Average for all 7)					1,8					6,3					1,5

Général DE GAULLE		52	35	86	Catherine DENEUVE		31	56	64	Jean-Paul BELMONDO		75	66	92	
Louis XIV		55	53	72	Yannick NOAH		22	18	97	Édith PIAF		27	22	89	
(Average for all 6)					2,6					2,5					5,0

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

nised by over half of all Germans and Italians, and the latter also enjoying reasonable popularity, particularly in Germany. Catherine Deneuve, who has well-established links with the peninsula, is also worth a mention. On the other hand Edith Piaf and Yannick Noah are only recognisable to less than one in three Germans or Italians.

Sportspeople

With the exception of Michael Schumacher whose fame extends far beyond his country's borders, sportspeople, even world champions or olympic medal-winners, are usually better known at home than abroad (Table 17). At least fifty percent of French and Italians know Boris Becker, whilst Franziska van Almsick struggles for any kind of recognition beyond her native Germany. The immense popularity of Marco Pantani and Alberto Tomba in Italy also has some echo in France. Sara Simeoni's name is reasonably familiar in her own country, but not so abroad. In France, Amélie Mauresmo and Marie-José Percec are national stars, as,

Table 17 – Knowledge of sportspeople and their fields of achievement

as a %

	Sportspeople	Field of achievement	Germans	Italians	French
German sportspeople	Boris BECKER	Tennis	100	52	67
	Michael SCHUMACHER	Formula 1	99	96	96
	Franziska VAN ALMSICK	Swimming	94	11	3
Italian sportspeople	Marco PANTANI	Cycling	33	96	47
	Alberto TOMBA	Ski-ing	52	95	35
	Sara SIMEONI	Athletics	11	68	7
French sportspeople	Amélie MAURESMO	Tennis	14	12	86
	Marie-José PEREC	Athletics	8	11	81
	Jeannie LONGO	Cycling	12	14	65

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

to a lesser extent, is Jeannie Longo; however, their star status is scarcely recognised abroad.

Some fictional characters

Whilst the Germans know the classic characters of Heidi and *Hansel and Gretel*, the more recent Werner has not attained the same popularity as these older characters. Heidi and *Hansel and Gretel* are equally well known to the Italians. Werner is practically unheard-of beyond the Alps. In France, only Heidi really rings any bells. Hansel and Gretel were only identified by just over one in three French people, whilst they had never heard of Werner. The Italians were more familiar with figures from the popular imagination, such as Pinocchio and Harlequin, whilst the character Corto Maltese, created by cartoonist Hugo Pratt forty years ago, still remains relatively popular in his native country. In Germany, Pinocchio wins out over Harlequin, whilst Corto Maltese remains an unknown. In France, Pinocchio has the same star status that he does in Italy, Harlequin is still very well known and there is also a fairly respectable audience for Corto Maltese. In France, Lucky Luke, Asterix and Babar are all on level pegging, enjoying high levels of fame. The Germans are familiar with Asterix, and to a lesser extent, Lucky Luke; Babar, who appeals to a younger demographic, is not quite so popular but is still known to a quarter of all Germans. Fewer Italians than Germans are likely to cite these references. Asterix has more impact in Italy than Lucky Luke, and, *a fortiori*, than Babar, who is still relatively well-known. That said, Asterix is less well known there than in Germany. Might this be because the caricatured portrayal of the Romans does not go down well with the Italians?

Sex generally has no bearing, or very little bearing, on response rates, with two notable exceptions: women (if not mothers) have a better knowledge of fictional characters, and men have a better knowledge of sportspeople. For example Heidi is known to 75% of French women and 50% of French men, and in Italy to 67% of

women and 58% of men. In France, Babar is known to 96% of French women, compared with 88% of men and in Germany to 29% of women and 19% of men. On the other hand, in all three countries men are more likely than women to know of Lucky Luke and Corto Maltese.

Conclusion: knowledge ratings for each country

On the basis of the responses to the 117 common questions covering knowledge in areas such as music, literature, theatre, cinema, history and geography, various knowledge ratings for each country and subject have been drawn up (Table 18).

Overall, all three countries showed very similar knowledge rates, which means that in terms of legitimate culture (that which is represented in mainstream education, for example), all three countries come out equal, or are equal in their relative ignorance at any rate.

The only clear national exception is the Italians' knowledge level with regard to cinema, and, to a

Table 18 – Knowledge ratings per country

as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
Musical references	42,0	35,5	40,0
Literary references	26,5	27,0	28,0
Film references	21,0	37,0	24,0
Theatrical references	20,5	23,5	20,0
Artistic references	19,5	24,0	20,0
German references	55,5	23,5	25,0
Italian references	34,5	68,0	37,0
French references	34,0	26,0	59,0
All references as a whole	40,7	39,5	39,4

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

lesser extent, the plastic arts. The Germans outperform their neighbours on musical knowledge by a modest margin, whilst the French are better at identifying literary classics.

These indicators correspond to popular stereotypes, e.g. the French are literary, the Germans are musical, etc. and it would not be difficult to trace the origins of these differences in each country's history. Nevertheless, on the whole, we are forced to recognise that the differences are not huge.

Although each country is in the best position to know its own national references, the Italians know their own culture better than do the other two countries. The Germans have an equal knowledge of French and Italian references. The Italians have a slightly better knowledge of French references than they do German. In France, Italian references prevail over German. Generally speaking, the Germans have the best knowledge of their neighbours.

Knowledge ratings vary markedly depending on educational background. Amongst those with university degrees (or equivalent) (Table 19), all three countries have similar observable levels of musical knowledge, whilst in all other areas, the Italians clearly outshine the rest; the French and Germans then show very similar knowledge levels, with the exception of literature and cinema, in which the French show greater knowledge. Finally, graduate ratings are consistently 50% higher than the national average, except when it comes to music.

THE INTERNATIONAL DISSEMINATION OF CULTURAL REFERENCES

Of the 216 references given, based on sites of historic interest, works or names of acclaimed figures, one third relate to the history and heritage of Germany, one third to that of Italy and one third to that of France. Half of these prove to be strictly national, known only to a minority outside of their country of origin.

Cross-national references, known to similar numbers of people in each country, represent 29% of the total. There are therefore mass cross-national references such as Pavarotti, Schumacher and Asterix, known to a huge number of people in each of the three countries, and then there are more exclusive cross-national references, known to a similar (usually well-educated) minority of people, in each of the three countries, knowledge for example that includes having seen Visconti's *The Damned*, knowing that Murnau is a film director or naming Degas as the painter of *The Ballet Class*. In this latter category, Italian and French cultural references (32% and 31% respectively) prevail over German references (25%).

Binational references (22% of the total) are references shared principally by two of the three countries. The most commonly shared references are those known both in Italy and France (40% of binational references). This is followed by shared Italian and German references (32%), and finally Franco-German references (28%).

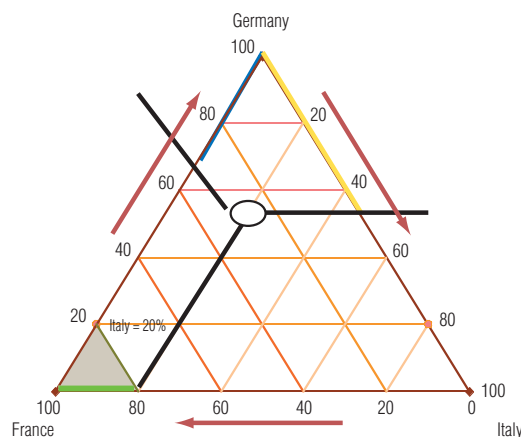
Table 19 – Graduate knowledge ratings for each country

	Germans	Italians	French
Musical references	46	46	45
Literary references	34	44	38
Film references	24	40	30
Theatrical references	26	40	27
Artistic references	27	31	28
German references	42	36	32
Italian references	36	68	44
French references	30	40	61

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

The triangle diagram

A triangle diagram is a means of visually representing three positive or neutral points (a, b, c) within a triangle, such that they always add up to the same value, e.g. $a + b + c = 100$. The closer a point is to one of the points of the triangle, the higher the reference's recognition rate in the relevant country. In the example below, out of a possible total of 100, Germany's contribution is 50, France's is 30 and therefore Italy's is 20.

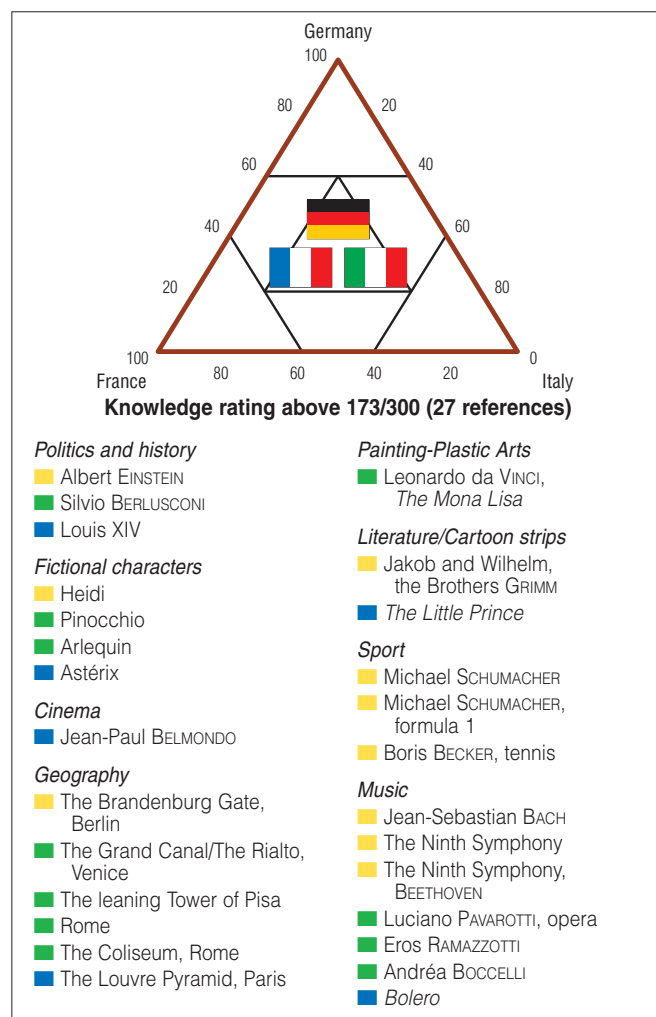


The left-hand triangle for example shows particularly French references, which are only shared by a small minority of Germans and Italians. The references which are situated towards the centre of gravity of the large triangle are typically transnational.

Mass cross-national references

What do such disparate popular references have in common? (Figure 1) Some are icons, such as the leaning Tower of Pisa, or the Louvre Pyramid, and have come to symbolise a city or country. Thus in some cases, the typical becomes universal: being the capital of a country, representing some eccentric feature, etc. Other references are celebrities whose rare and unique talent or work sets a universal standard, such as Einstein or Pavarotti. Michael Schumacher is a good example here, as he is clearly in a different league to other national stars with strictly national appeal such as Alberto Tomba and Jeannie Longo; it is not enough to be a champion, but to achieve repeated success over the long term, and in a commonly-recognised field. Excessive media attention to a personality, such as directed at Silvio Berlusconi, can also “denationalize” a figure; the same can be said for the *Mona Lisa*, Jean-Paul Belmondo or Eros Ramazzotti. Simply standing the test of time has served the reputation of such figures as Bach, Beethoven or Louis XIV. Literature on the other hand does not travel well, except for illustrated children’s literature such as Grimm’s fairy tales, *The Little Prince* and Pinocchio. It seems that several fairly strict condi-

Figure 1 – Mass cross-national references



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

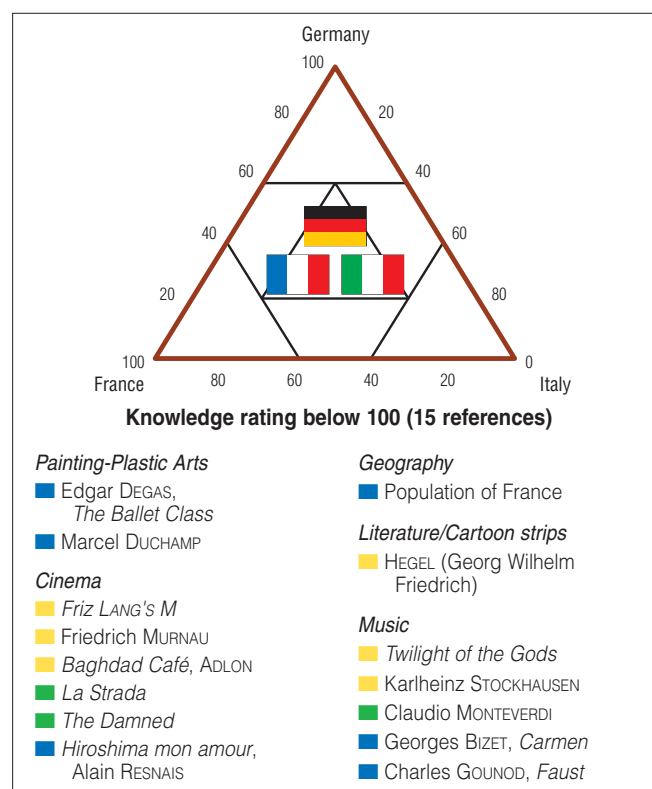
tions need to be met before a reference can be considered to be a part of the common cultural heritage.

Highly selective cross-national references

Whilst it may be unsurprising that only an educated minority in each country is aware of Degas’ painting, Gounod’s *Faust* or Hegel’s philosophy, what is astonishing is there are so few of these references (Figure 2). So-called high culture also clearly struggles to cross national boundaries, even within those same social groups to which they are familiar. Literature in particular, does not transfer well: Kleist, Lessing, Grass, Pirandello, Calvino, Moravia, Malraux, Racine and Rimbaud are all writers little-read outside of their native countries. Cinema is more universal, with the production of masterpieces whose influence extends well beyond their own borders: *The Damned*, *La Strada* and *M* all have their audience across all three countries.

Selective (albeit limited) cross-national references are cited: those rare individuals who share them are able to make connections between titles and authors. It therefore seems perfectly possible that, within the three countries, there is a group of educated people who reference foreign works from a variety of foreign origins, retaining only the pertinent aspects of each culture. Following this line of argument, the fact that educated French people are unaware of Caspar David Friedrich or Cranach might be explained by the fact that they prefer to focus more on say, Velasquez, Goya or Rem-

Figure 2 – Selective cross-national references



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

brandt rather than improving their knowledge of German culture.

German national references

It is understandable that few Germans know of Gropius or that only a minority can name the author of *The Lost Honour of Katarina Blum* (Figure 3). Similarly, it is quite plausible that only the Germans are familiar with the character of Werner or the champion swimmer Franziska Van Almsick. However, the fact that such illustrious national figures as Heinrich Heine, Günther Grass, Willy Brandt and Josef Haydn are unheard-of outside of Germany gives pause for thought: what is it about these (and many other) individuals, so

Figure 3 – German national references



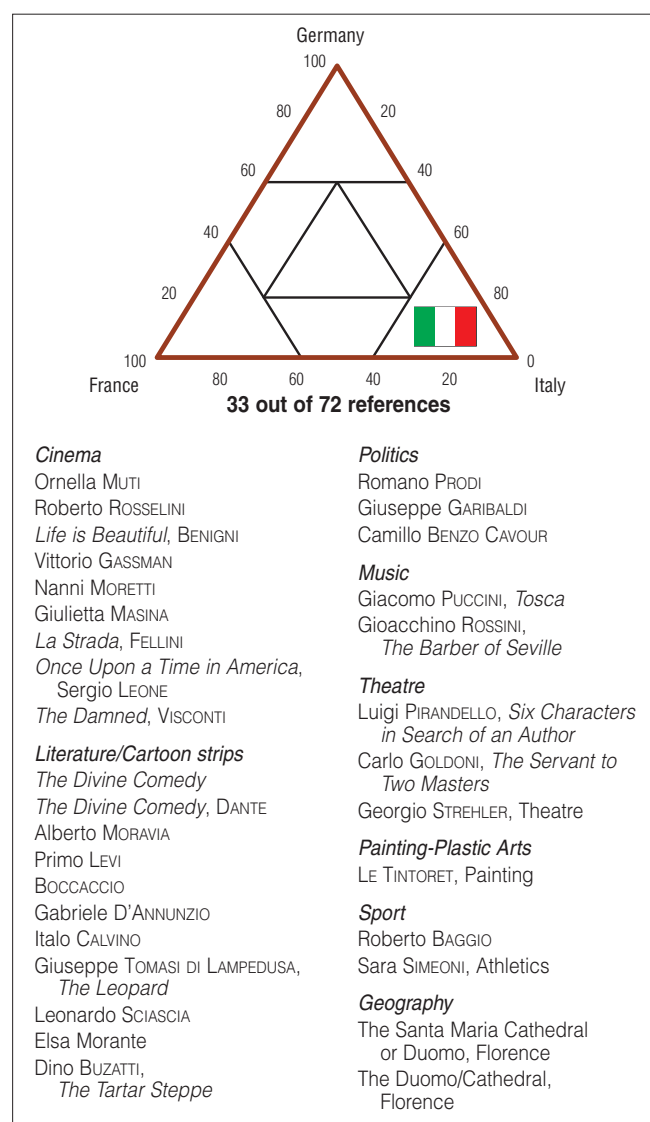
Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

feted within their own country, that they are so obscure elsewhere? Let us consider Willy Brandt: whilst he may have changed the course of German history, he had little effect on that of France or Italy. Perhaps Heine and Grass simply had the misfortune to be writers, whilst Haydn may be outshone by the brilliance of Bach and Beethoven.

Italian national references

The fact that some of the Italians' own national references do not make it beyond their country's borders is in some part down to the same factors: literature tends not to export well, and even widely-translated writers such as Calvino are read only by a minority in other countries (Figure 4). Italy suffers from a certain isolation, which the image that the other two countries have of it may perhaps go some way to explaining³: it

Figure 4 – Italian national references



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

3. See below, "Intersecting images of the three countries", § Character traits attributed to each country, p. 27.

often presents on the one hand an image of a warm, cheerful, and friendly country, which does not seem to fit with their erudite culture, and on the other hand, the image of Italy's architectural, artistic and musical heritage seems to be stuck in the past. Italian history is so poorly known beyond the Alps that the only pre-20th-century Italian leader which the French and Germans are able to name is Julius Caesar! Dante is invisible outside of Italy, as are Giuletta Masina and Nanni Moretti.

French national references

Once again, the same observation can be made of the French references, as great writers such as Racine, Verlaine, Malraux and Prévert struggle to make it out of their native country. More wounding to national pride is the fact that Mont-Saint-Michel and Edith Piaf fail to make much impact abroad, (Figure 5) with Rodin, Berlioz and the Pont du Gard faring little better. As elsewhere, the main commonly-shared national references are singers (Les Rita Mitsouko) or sporting figures (Yannick Noah is also a singer, although this

Figure 5 – French national references



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

new career move does not seem to bring him any greater levels of fame outside of France).

In conclusion, it would seem that there are two types of mass national references: those which confer a great sense of national unity, such as sportspeople, singers and modern politicians, but whose recognition abroad is of little import; then there are those which contribute to a more enduring, historical identity such as artists, historic buildings and past rulers, a similar knowledge of whom abroad would be more influential.

Franco-German references

These are almost exclusively very select references. They are clearly shared by the French and Germans, but mostly by the highest-educated section of the population. Here the greatest connection is through cinema: the French are a nation of cinema enthusiasts, and have access to the works of Fritz Lang and Wim Wenders. The Germans have seen *Hiroshima mon amour*, *The Fifth Element* and *Les Enfants du paradis*. Pina Bausch is renowned in France, where her shows are regularly staged. The Germans know Johnny Hallyday, Lucky Luke and Jacques Offenbach, (the latter perhaps due to his Germanic-sounding name?) The French know Beethoven's *Fidelio*, a work of which the Italians are curiously unaware.

Franco-Italian references

Modigliani, Hugo Pratt and the masterpiece of Renaissance architecture, the Chateau de Chambord, are the references most commonly shared by France and Italy. Why they remain largely obscure in Germany is something of a mystery. Why should *Madame Bovary*, *Cyrano de Bergerac* and *Discourse on Method* be better known to the Italians than the Germans? In France, knowledge of Benigni's film *Life is Beautiful* is undoubtedly down to the French predilection for cinema, and their knowledge of Veronese through the prevalence of his work in the Louvre collection.

Italo-German references

The Italians know Marx! They also know Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* and Hansel and Gretel. The Germans are more likely to recognise Alberto Tomba than the French, and can also recognise the Milan cathedral. What sets them apart most from the French is their ability to correctly attribute a work's creator, so although the French claim to know *David*, *La Traviata* and *The Name of the Rose*, only the Germans and Italians can actually name their creators.

CULTURAL PRACTICE DATA

In general, the extent and type of a country's cultural knowledge is linked not only to its proximity to the other two (as measured by language practice and frequency of travel), but also to the variety and intensity of its cultural practices. It is however hard to demonstrate any hard and fast cause and effect links either way: a good prior knowledge of Italian references may predispose a German to travel in Italy, and travel in Italy can also increase one's Italian cultural references. Similarly, the Germans' high rate of concert attendance may well explain the breadth of German musical references, although the latter may well also explain the former.

Proximity to other countries

The level of foreign language practice and frequency of foreign travel provide bases on which to draw up a country's proximity rating. On this basis, the French and Italians are very close to each other. The Germans are close to the Italians and the French... but not vice versa!

Foreign language practice

Although almost half of Italians claim to be reasonably competent in French, only a quarter of the French claim to have a smattering of either spoken or written Italian (Table 20). And although the Germans manage better speaking French than Italian (28% compared with 17%), German is not a language with which the Italians are familiar, with only a minority having a basic knowledge of it. Quite a few French people can

Table 20 – Language skills in each country

as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
Level of French			
Bilingual	0	1	
Basic written or spoken skills	28	44	
Don't know	72	56	
Level of Italian			
Bilingual	0		2
Basic written or spoken skills	17		25
Don't know	83		74
Level of German			
Bilingual		0	2
Basic written or spoken skills		13	24
Don't know		87	74

Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

get by in both German and Italian, as a quarter claim to be able to speak both languages.

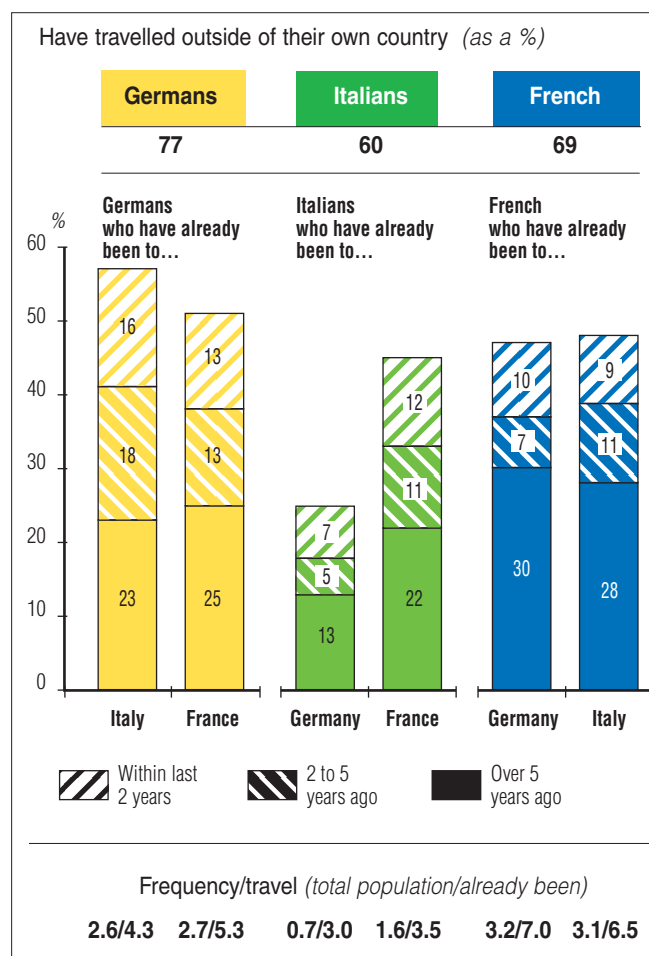
Mobility

Almost eight out of ten Germans (77%) have already travelled abroad: almost half have been to Italy and almost the same number have been to France, although most recent trips were to Italy (Figure 6). Seven out of ten French people (69%) have travelled abroad. Most have already been to Italy and almost as many to Germany, although these trips were less recent. Less than half of Italians have been to France, and a quarter have visited Germany.

The French do the most travelling, with an average of three trips, Germany and Italy being equally common destinations. After them come the Germans, with an average of two trips. Generally speaking, the Italians are the least mobile: 40% of them have never been out of Italy, and as far as trips to Germany and France are concerned, their averages are the lowest of all three countries, with an overall average of one trip to Germany and two to France and an average of three trips to one or other of the two countries for those who have travelled.

Figure 6 – Travel abroad

as a %



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

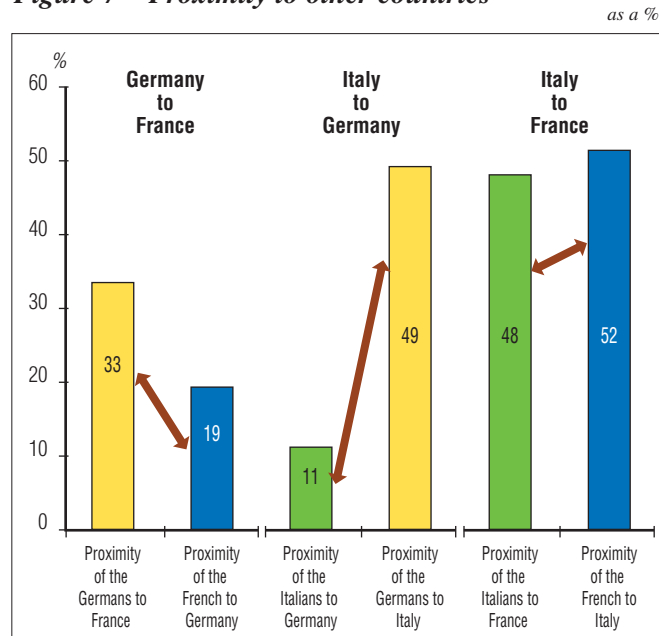
Proximity rating

A proximity indicator⁴ has been created based on responses to the previous questions (Figure 7). Whilst there is a good convergence in the French and Germans relationship with Italy, and equivalent proximity levels between France and Italy, relationships with Germany are more starkly contrasted.

Italy and France both have equivalent proximity levels to each other: almost five out of ten Italians have a strong or very strong proximity to France, and the same levels apply vice versa. The Germans also show a strong or very strong proximity to Italy, but it does not work the other way round, as evidenced by the fact that only one in ten Italians have a strong proximity to Germany. One third of Germans have a strong proximity with France, but reverse the relationship and only two out of ten French people show a similar proximity to Germany. Evidently, the Italians and French are clearly closer to each other than they are to Germany.

There is almost always a correlation between proximity ratings and the previously-cited individual or overall knowledge ratings. In some cases proximity exercises a definite effect, distinct from the influence of educational background. In other words, the very fact of increasing tourist and business traffic within Europe is likely to increase the spread of mutual knowledge, independently of any other initiative.

Figure 7 – Proximity to other countries



4. The rating indicating proximity to a country (e.g. France). It is calculated on the following basis: for each condition fulfilled we give a score of 1 to then calculate the total (maximum score = 8). Written or spoken French – 1 to 4/Basic French – 5/French = mother tongue/1 person in household, native French speaker/1 member of extended family or friends, native French speaker/French television (including rarely) = 1 to 3/Non-business-related travel to France = 1/Would like to travel to France for non-business-related reasons = 1/Very remote = 0; remote = 1; close = 2; very close = score 3 to 8.

Cultural practices

Outings

When comparing cultural outings across the three countries, Germany's higher per capita number of concert, theatre and other cultural outings over the last twelve months distinguishes it sharply from France and Italy (Figure 8). This German particularity is even more pronounced within the field of music with regard to rock concerts, classical music concerts, operettas and classical ballet shows. It is also noticeable as regards visits to historic buildings and museums, the theatre and sporting events. As for the French, a higher proportion of them visit cinemas, exhibitions and variety shows. The only area in which the Italians show a higher rate of attendance to the other countries is in folk dancing events.

Finally, the three countries show equal attendance rates for circuses, art galleries, concerts for music other than classical, jazz or rock (e.g. hip-hop, techno, world music, etc.), and jazz concerts.

Other practices

Examining the practice of activities at amateur level highlights several differences between the three countries (Figure 9). The French participate more in the plastic arts (drawing, painting or sculpture) than the Germans or Italians. Writing is also clearly a more popular activity in France. Roughly equal proportions of Germans and French people have played a musical instrument within the last twelve months, putting them well ahead of the Italians.

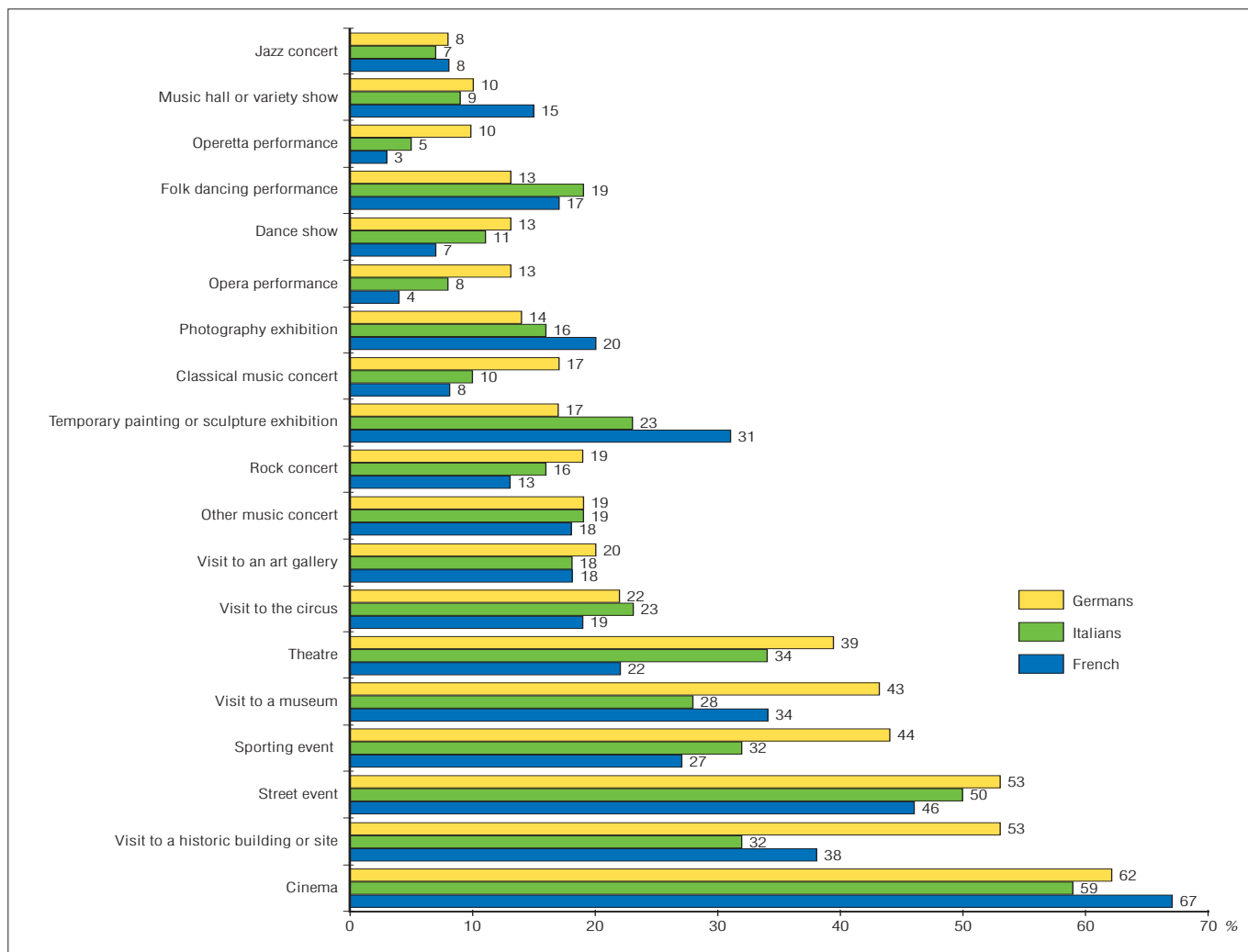
In terms of reading, it is the Germans that are most likely to pick up a book (Figure 10). Only a quarter of them hadn't read a book within the last 12 months. Although a third of French people haven't read a single book in the last twelve months, this figure rises to 85% in Italy.

Press reading patterns vary from one country to another (Figure 11). The Germans and French read the press more than the Italians. There are some behavioural similarities worth highlighting however: in Germany and France television magazines are the most widely-read press item (around fifty percent of the population in both countries); in Italy on the other hand, the weekly news press is most popular (three out of ten Italians read it, compared with two out of ten Germans or French people). Women's press attracts scores or

Figure 8 – Cultural outings within the last twelve months

“I am going to give you a list of activities which only involve going to see live performances by professionals rather than amateurs. Please tell me if you have ever, at any point in your life, been to... And what about within the last 12 months?”

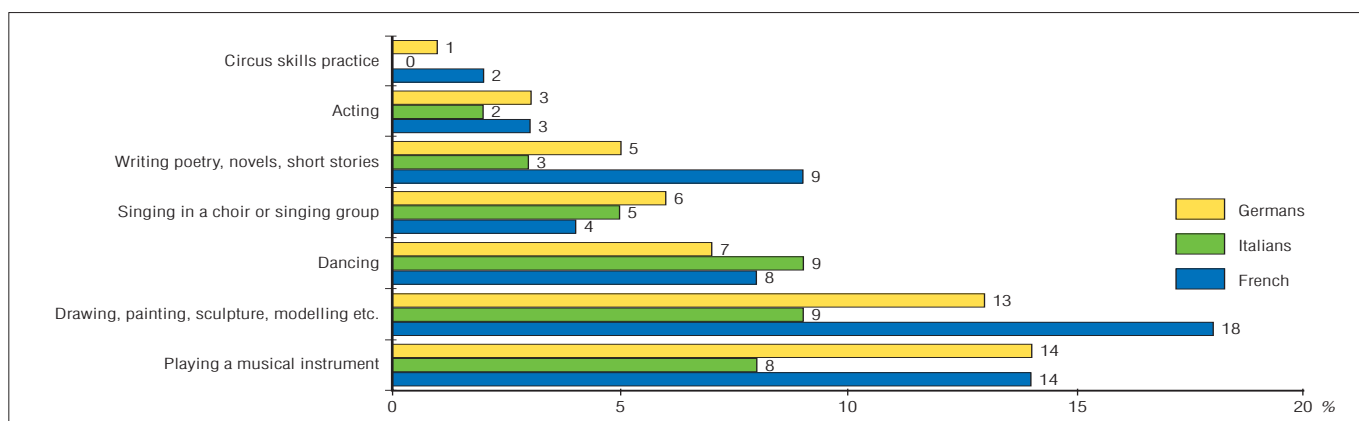
as a %



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 9 – Amateur practice of artistic activity within the last twelve months

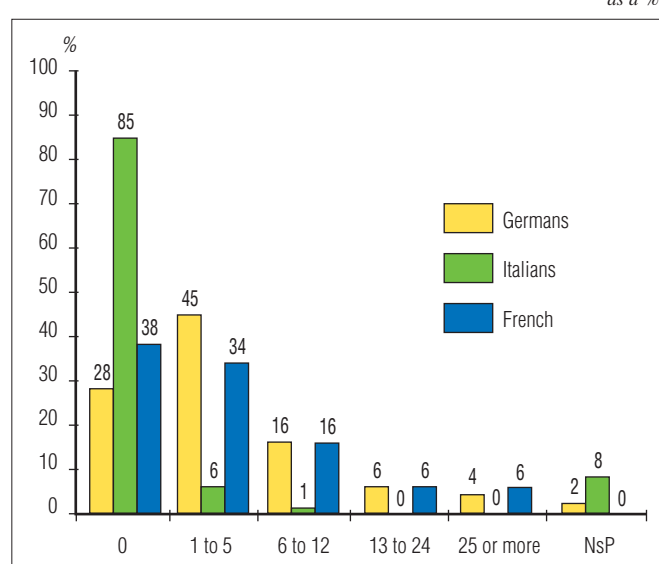
as a %



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

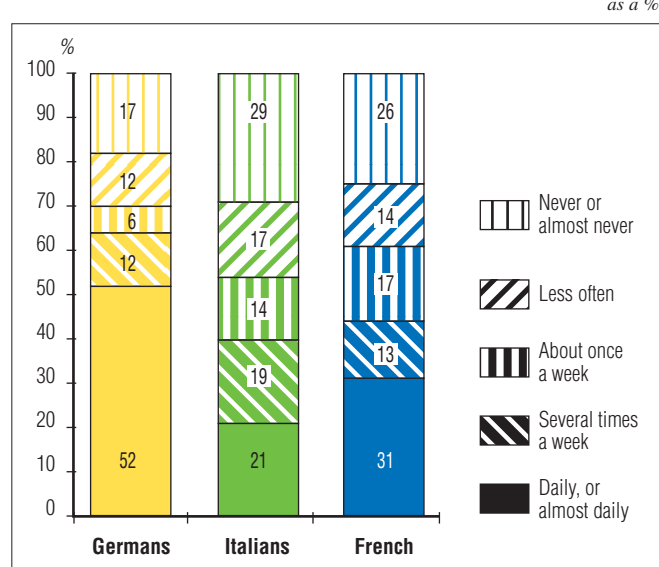
around 20% in all three countries. Finally, whilst the French enjoy the leisure-related and interior design press more, the Germans seem more interested in the health-related press.

Figure 10 – Number of books read within the last twelve months (excluding comic books/graphic novels)



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 11 – Daily, national and local press reading frequency



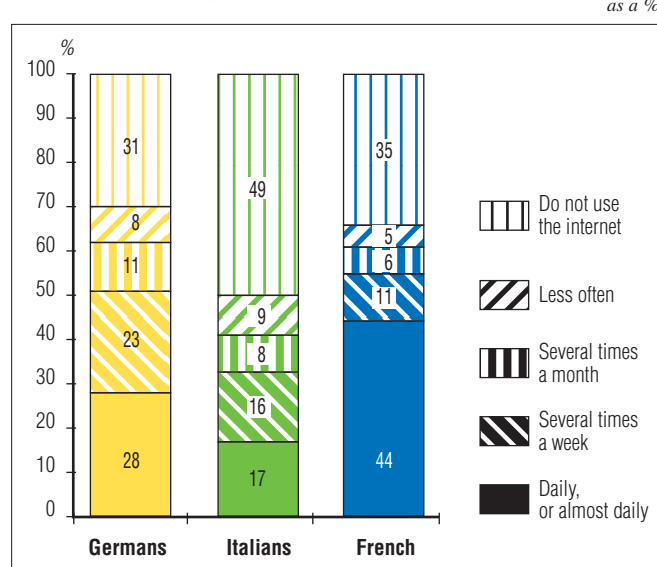
Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

The internet and the media

Each country has a very different relationship with the internet. The Italians use the internet less than the other two countries: half of all Italians claim not to use the internet, as compared with only one third of Germans and Italians (Figure 12). The French show the highest internet usage, with four out of ten using it daily, and over half using it at least several times a week. A quarter of all Germans access the internet daily, with a further quarter being regular users (i.e. several times a week) slightly less than one quarter are occasional users, and roughly one-third non-users.

In both Germany and France the internet is primarily accessed from home, with smaller numbers of people possibly doing so at the home of friends and family or in the workplace; Italy follows exactly the same pattern, although they have a much smaller proportion of home users. In all three countries, the use of cyber-café or other public access points remains quite rare (less than 10% of users).

Figure 12 – Frequency of internet usage



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

INTERSECTING IMAGES OF THE THREE COUNTRIES

The images that all three countries have of each other tend to be rather stereotyped, except amongst the younger generation. The volume and types of cultural knowledge are in part linked to these representations: the Italians are admired but not taken very seriously, the Germans see the French as more cultured whereas in fact the reverse is more likely, the Italians have little interest in Germany, etc.

Estimating population figures

The size of the German population

61% of Germans know the size of their own country's population (Figure 13). 19% of Italians know the size of Germany's population. 29% give the wrong answer and 29% cannot give an answer at all. 28% of French people know the size of Germany's population and 66% give an incorrect or approximate answer.

The size of the Italian population

Only 17% of Italians know the size of their country's population (Figure 14). 28% of them believe that the population comprises 80 million Italians or more. The belief that it is bigger than it is in reality is more widely held in the northern, industrial part of Italy, perhaps due to the population density there. The Germans have a rather inaccurate view of the size of Italian popu-

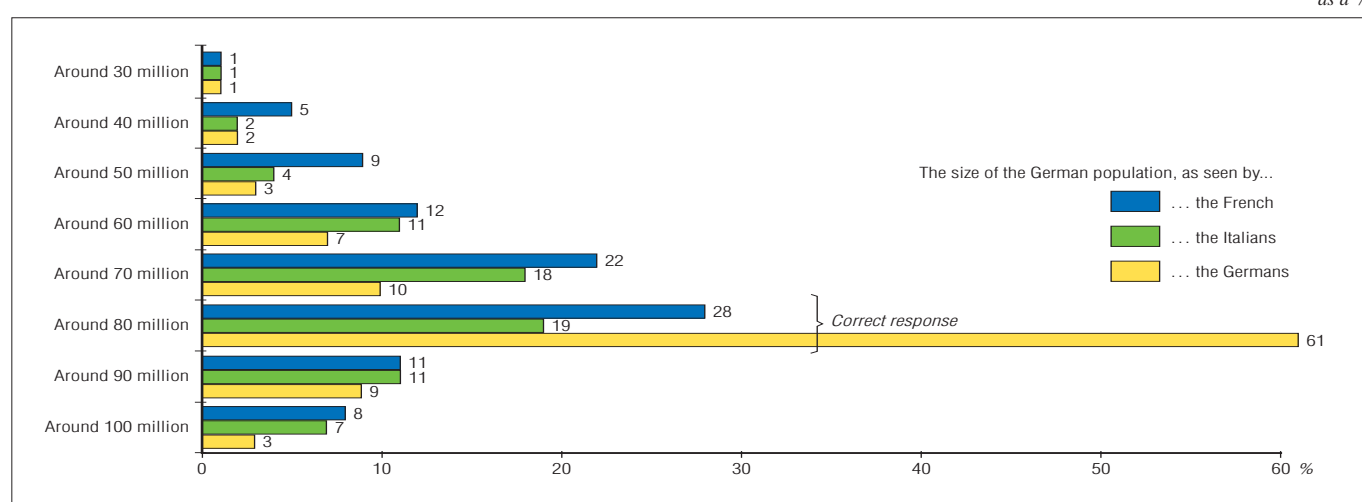
lation, tending to underestimate it (37% think that the population is around 50 million or less), although they are nevertheless more accurate than the Italians in their estimations, as 27% of Germans know how big Italy's population is. The French are actually the ones with the most accurate idea of Italy's population, with over half of them estimating correctly.

The size of the French population

Only 20% of the French know the size of their country's population, with one third giving the wrong answer; there is a tendency to underestimate, imagining the population to be smaller than or equal to 50 million (Figure 15). A quarter of Germans know the size of France's population, and, unlike the French, the Germans tend to overestimate the size of France's population: 47% think that it is around 70 million (with 26% of them putting it at over 80 million). It is the former East Germany that overestimates the French population the most. The Germans are however more accurate in their responses than the French. 45% of Italians know the size of France's population and 26% are able to give a relatively accurate estimate.

Both the Italians and French have a very poor appreciation of the size of their own country's population and that of the German population. However the Italians correctly estimate the size of the French population⁵, and the French estimate of the Italian population⁶ is accurate to the same degree. The Germans know the size of their own country's population⁷, but underestimate that of Italy and overestimate that of France.

Figure 13 – Estimating the size of the German population



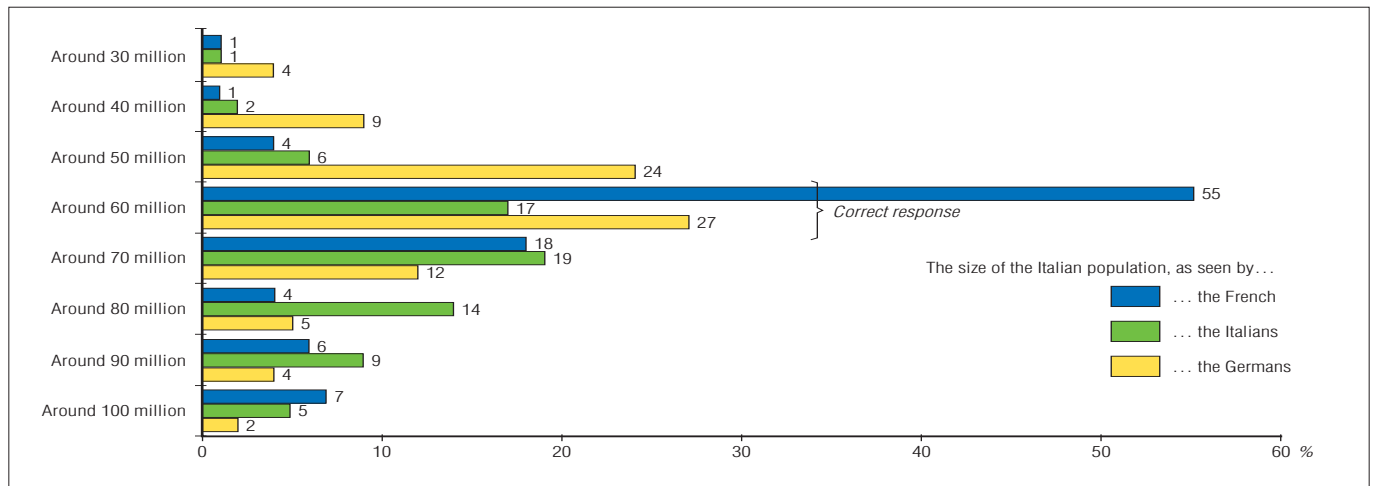
5. Estimated at 63.8 millions people by INSEE (France's National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies) on 1st January 2008.

6. Estimated at 58.9 millions.

7. Estimated at 82.5 millions.

Figure 14 – Estimating the size of the Italian population

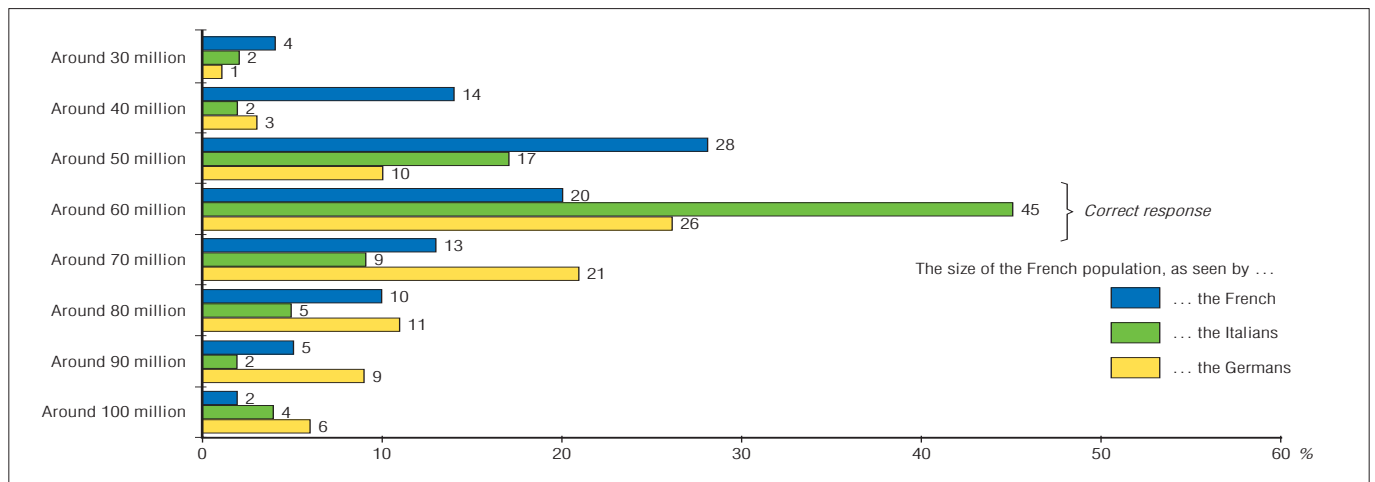
as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 15 – Estimating the size of the French population

as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

The economic image of the three countries

Germany

What is striking here is that the image which the French, Italians and Germans have of Germany's excellent economic health is unanimously shared (Figure 16). The Germans themselves, along with their neighbours, see Germany as a model of industrial strength in areas such as the automotive, machine tools, chemical and pharmaceutical industries.

The only disparity between the Germans' self image and the outsider view of Germany is that in France and Italy, Germany is associated with armaments and nuclear technology, whilst the Germans do not associate their country with these two industries.

Italy

Cars, shoes and textiles (clothing and knitwear) are, according to the Italians themselves, the mainstays of their country's economic excellence (Figure 17), followed by the food and luxury goods industries. A certain amount of neighbourly economic rivalry seems to influence both France and Germany's images of Italy: Germany does not consider it to be an automotive power, nor does France recognise it as a food industry giant. In fact the most pervasive stereotype about Italy's economy is that it is based on the footwear industry.

France

The consensus on France is clear: they are all about luxury goods and nuclear technology (Figure 18). Other views are more subtle: the Germans see France in terms

of its automotive, food and textiles industries. The Italians also see sectors such as the automotive, textiles, food and pharmaceuticals industries, but these areas are still way behind the luxury goods market. As for France, it sees the French food industry as being far more influential than that in Italy, and is the only country to see itself as having a powerful pharmaceutical industry.

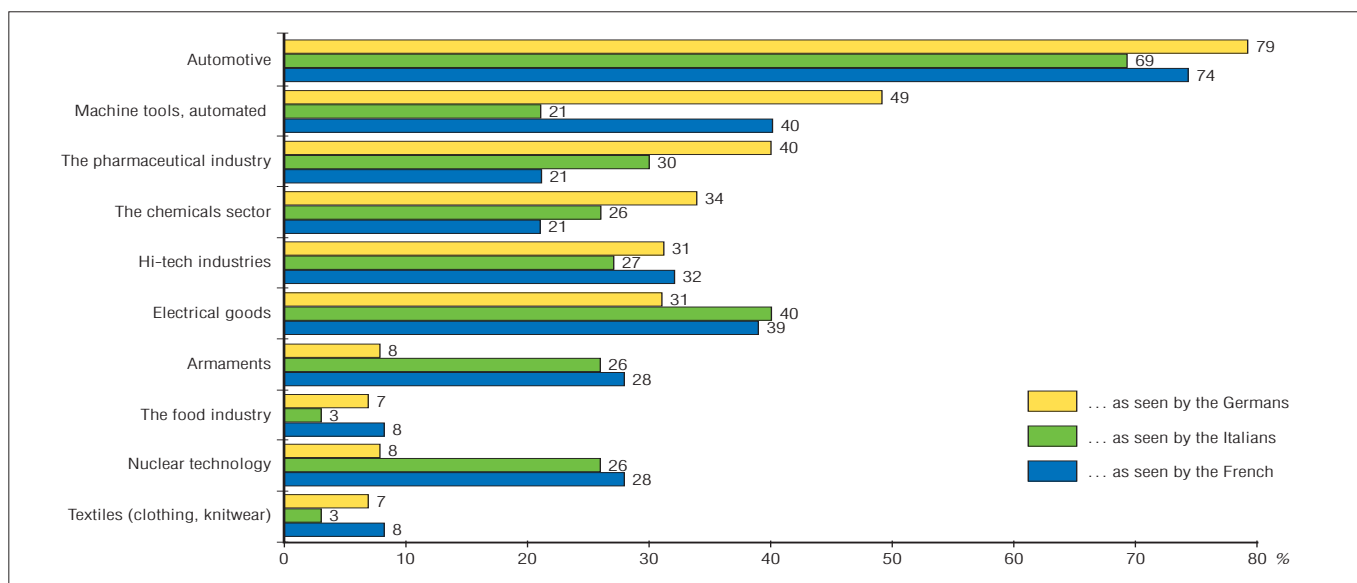
Character traits attributed to each country

Old stereotypes die hard: the Germans are hard-working and serious, the Italians loud but welcoming, the French cultured and pretentious. Overall, these stereotypes tend to be cross-national, i.e. there isn't a tremendous gulf between a nation's self-image and that held of it by others. Nevertheless, there are a few notable gaps which indicate some possible misunderstandings. On the other hand, some old stereotypes seem to be vanishing amongst the younger generations, to be replaced by new images.

Figure 16 – The economic image of Germany

“From this list of industrial and economic activities, which do you think best represent Germany?”

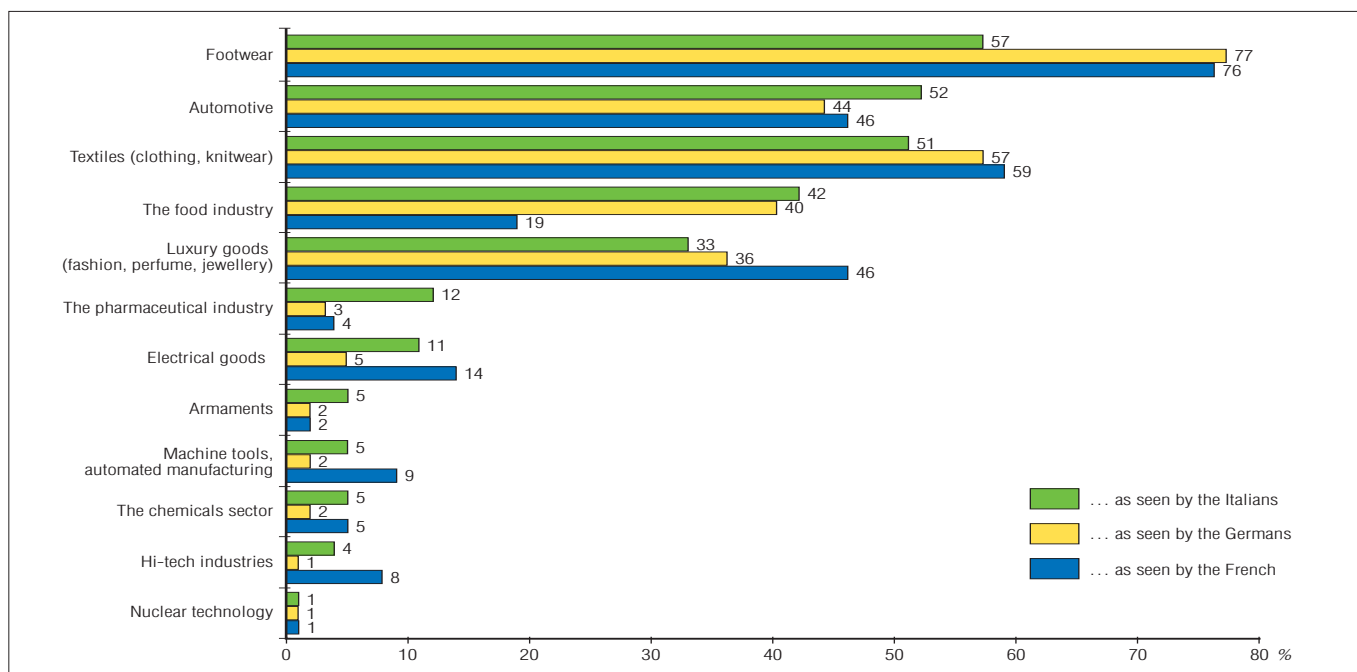
as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 17 – The economic image of Italy

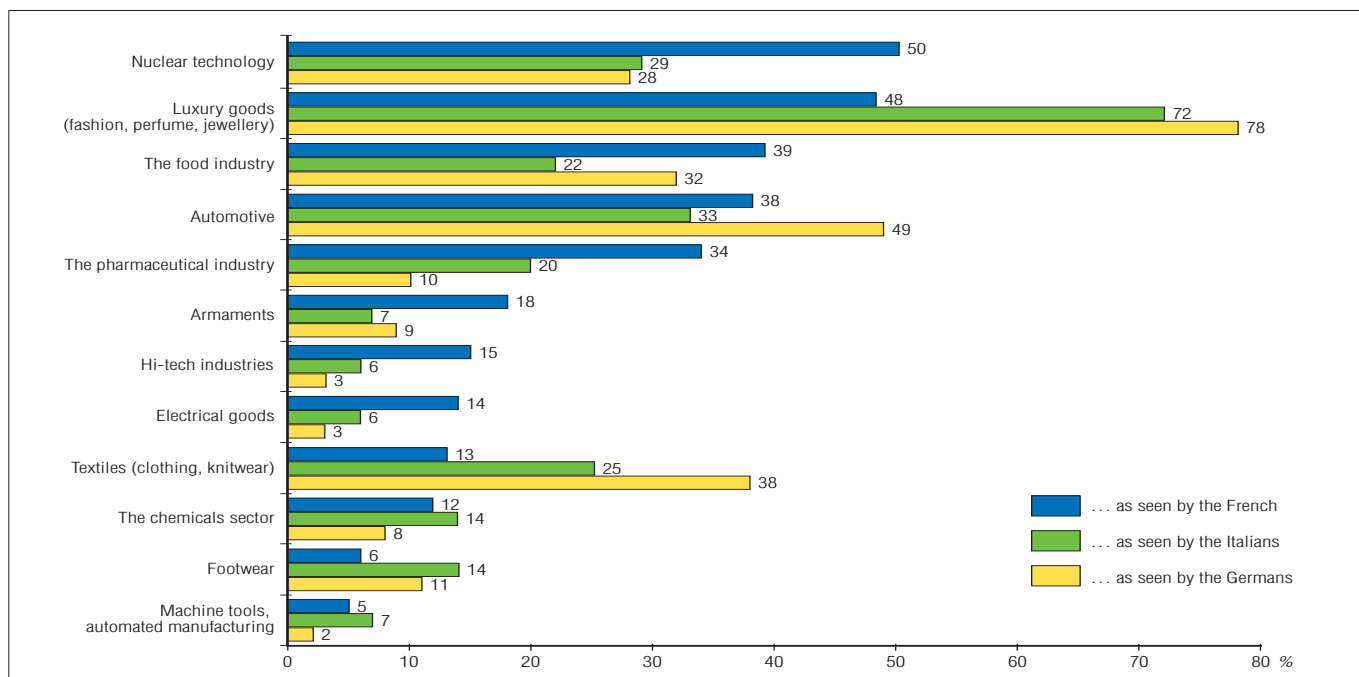
as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 18 – The economic image of France

as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Germans

Hardworking, organised and reliable, the Germans also see themselves as creative and innovative, two qualities which are not readily attributed to them by the French and Italians (Figure 19). Perhaps more surprisingly, the French also see the Germans as friendly and vivacious. Finally, they also see them as being somewhat cultured, and share with them a European sensibility.

The Italians, on the other hand, stick largely to the stereotypes, using images such as hard work, discipline and organisation in reference to the Germans, without the addition of qualities such as inventiveness or friendliness.

Italians

The Italians see themselves as friendly, cheerful and creative (Figure 20). The latter adjective is unusual, as neither the French nor Germans perceive them as such. On the other hand, the French also see the Italians as loud and pretentious.

The French

The French have a somewhat conflicting self-image (Figure 21). They see themselves variously as creative, hard-working, demanding, friendly, and intellectually curious. They are in agreement however on one thing:

their chauvinism, which is not unrelated to the fact of feeling European. According to the Germans, the French are cultured and set great store by their national culture whilst remaining equally European. The Italians see the French as pretentious and too self-absorbed. The positive distinguishing characteristics attributed to the French (European and cultured) do little however to attenuate the overall image of a chauvinistic nation.

Across all three countries

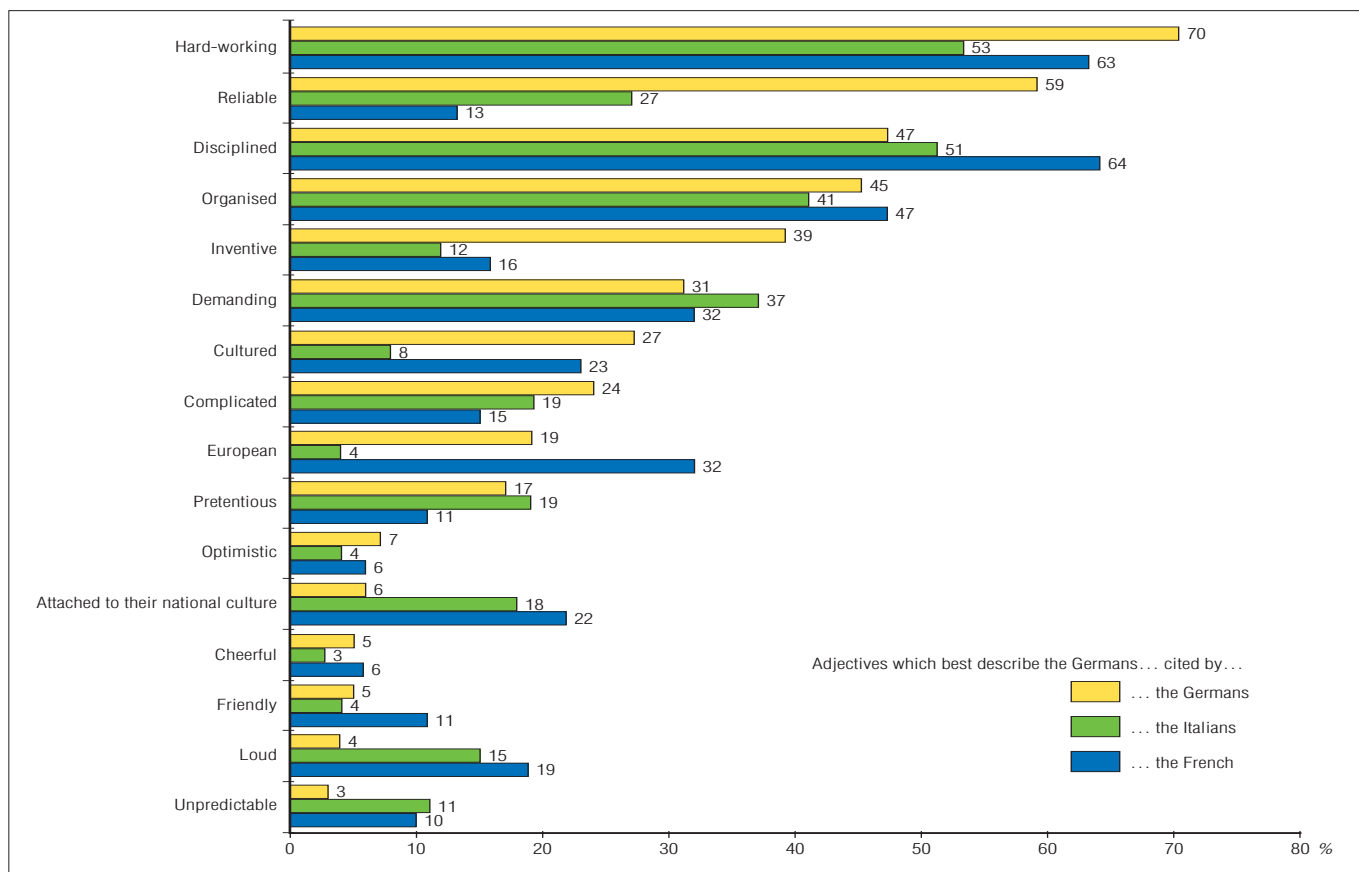
The younger generation (aged 15 to 34) value openness towards others, commitment to Europe, vitality and friendliness. Thus, Germans aged 15-24 see themselves as more European, optimistic, cheerful, friendly and loud than the national average. Young French people aged 25-34 see themselves as decidedly more European and decidedly less attached to their national culture than their elders.

When regarding their European partners, the younger generations often take a less stereotyped view than their elders. Italians aged 15-24 are more likely to see the French as cultured. Young French people aged 25-34 are more likely to see the Germans as European. French people aged 15-24 have a less limited view of the Italians than the average French person, seeing them as more inventive, cultured and demanding. Young Germans aged 15-24 display the least prejudice about the supposed chauvinism of the French.

Figure 19 – Qualities ascribed to the Germans

“From the following sixteen adjectives, which ones do you think best reflect your own personal view of the Germans?”

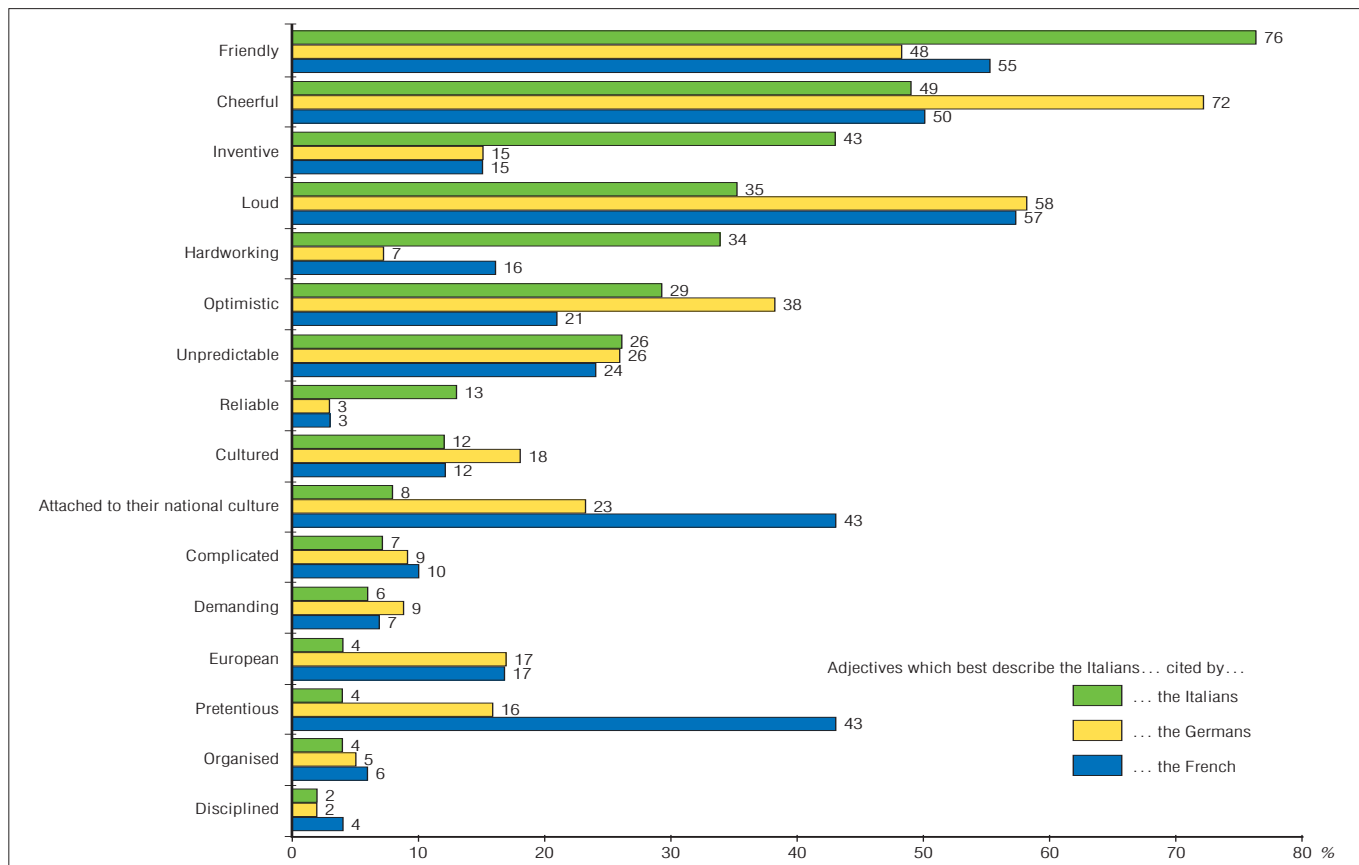
as a %



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 20 – Qualities ascribed to the Italians

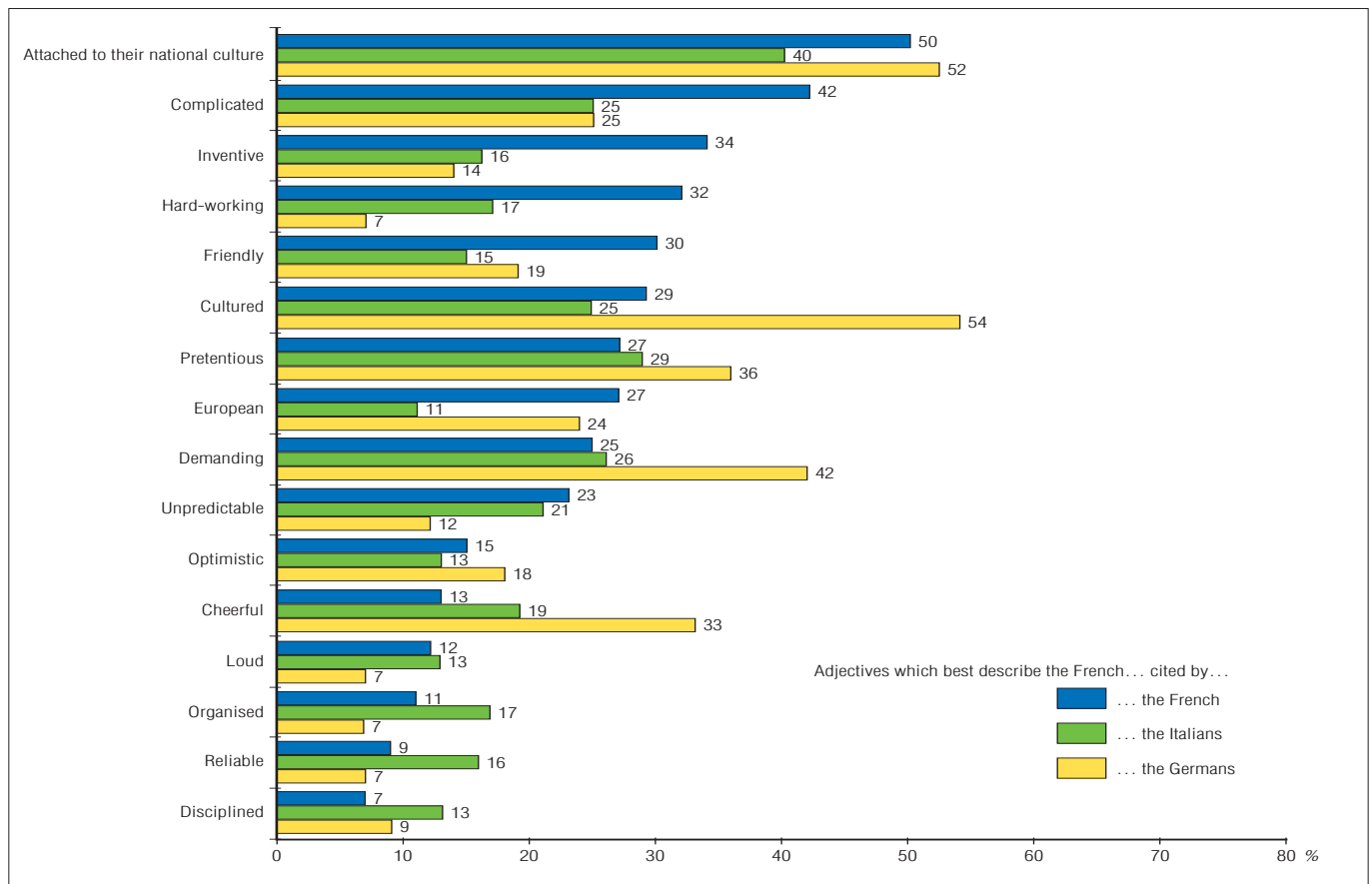
as a %



Source: Crossing Cultures, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Figure 21 – Qualities ascribed to the French

as a %



Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

CONCLUSION

In short, German culture remains very poorly understood, including in Germany itself. The Germans have a far better knowledge of their neighbours than vice versa. The French and Italians have much in common, sharing a certain mutual knowledge and a touch of cultural chauvinism. However the Italians know the French better than the French know the Italians. Yet the French have, amongst the Germans in particular, a reputation as a cultured nation...

The various European countries' mutual understanding does of course involve more than the mere ability to cite great names, but the very existence of existing widely-shared references, and the fact that a large number of foreign references are known to a good third of Germans, Italians and the French shows that this is not an unattainable aim.

Across all three countries, the same social factors (age, education and area of residence) best explain any discernible differences. Italy is the country in which these areas of inequality are starkest, having both the most cultured elite of all three countries, and also the

largest group with the lowest skills. Berlin also distinguishes itself from the rest.

The importance of cross-national social factors aside, this study reveals the existence of “national” differences which are at present puzzling. These differences may well relate to the emphasis placed on culture, other cultures in particular, in school curricula and in the media; they may also relate each country's images of the two other cultures (which in turn are rooted in past international relations) and to the intensity of cultural, artistic, tourist and business exchanges. Moreover, due to technical and financial restrictions, this study did not include Anglo-Saxon or American cultural references, which are undoubtedly shared by all three countries but which probably do not compete to the same degree with those of each country's immediate neighbours.

Ultimately, this study reveals that a certain proximity to a foreign country (determined by knowledge of its language, frequency of business or leisure travel and simple geographic distance) encourages, *ceteris paribus*, a more extensive knowledge of a neighbouring country's culture. ■

Methodology

The *Crossing Cultures* study was put together using information drawn from exploratory qualitative surveys conducted in France, Italy and Germany, followed by a scoping study. Its ultimate aim was to measure the extent and the social dissemination of the cultural knowledge within each of the three countries' populations, particularly their knowledge of cultural references which specifically relate to each of the two other countries. 216 wide-ranging references (e.g. geographical, literary, architectural, etc.) were selected for inclusion in a vast *corpus*, based on their presumed ability to differentiate between the countries according to various criteria (e.g. references presumed to have mass recognition in Germany but minimal recognition in Italy, references presumed to be widely recognised by the younger generations but not amongst the older generations, etc.). More specifically, it involved carrying out, compiling and analysing three surveys by poll, conducted amongst representative sample groups of national residents in France, Italy and Germany, using exactly the same questionnaire and administrative methods.

The *population* is made up of individuals aged 15 and over, who are resident in the relevant country, whatever their nationality or mother tongue. However, only those whose language skills enabled them to adequately respond to the questionnaire in the relevant language were included in the survey.

The *geographic area* of the survey: for France this comprised metropolitan France in its strictest sense; for Italy, Sicily and Sardinia were included in the survey area and the number of interviews conducted there were in proportion to the population size of the two islands in relation to the total Italian population.

Three sample groups were created, each comprising 1,000 individuals aged 15 and over (selected directly through a quota system), to which were added two additional sample groups, one composed of 200 15-24 year-olds and the other of 240 individuals with higher education qualifications. The questionnaire was conducted using the CAPI system and at the home of the interviewee, by the ISL Institute in France, GfK in Germany and GfK (Eurisko) in Italy (all three being subsidiaries of the GfK group).

Quotas

- For the main sample group:
 - regions crossed with town size;
 - sex of interviewee;
 - age (6 age groups: 15-17/18-24/25-34/35-49/50-64/65 +)

It should be noted that those aged 65 and over accounted for half of their weighting in the sample group.

- For the additional "higher education" sample group, the age group quotas were reduced to two groups (under 35/35 +).

For all interviews, the following variables were checked:

- interviewee's level of education (3 levels);
- occupation of woman;
- number of people in household;
- number of interviewees currently or previously employed in education;
- profession of the head of the household.

Data collection regulations

Points on the "Regions x town size" matrix were selected at random. Interviewers had a quota schedule which indicated the number of interviews to be carried out according to these criteria. None were carried out during the school holiday period. As far as possible, interviewees were to be interviewed alone in order to avoid the interference of outside influences.

The socio-demographic structures of the three countries

as a %

	Germans	Italians	French
Men	48	48	48
Women	52	52	52
Aged 15-17	4	4	4
18-24	9	9	11
25-34	13	17	16
35-49	28	27	26
50-64	22	21	23
65 +	24	22	20
Primary school educated	15	24	31
Secondary school educated	67	64	51
Higher education	18	12	18
Higher professional category +	21	7	20
Lower professional group +	34	39	30
Retires	23	24	25
Other economically inactive groups	22	30	25

The socio-demographic structure of the three populations is similar in terms of age. The percentage of those having attained educational qualifications equivalent to the English 'A-level' is 51% in Germany, 44% in Italy and 31% in France. The country with the highest proportion of economically inactive individuals is Italy (largely female home-makers), with an average of 30%, with this figure falling to 20% in the north of Italy, and as high as 40% in the south (including Latium and The Marches). There are some significant regional variations, including: the numbers of graduates in the Paris region (28% compared with a national average of 18%), as well as Berlin and Bavaria (38% and 11% respectively, compared with a national German average of 18%). Finally the percentage of those in higher professional categories is 15% in the ex-GDR, compared with a 21% average. The figure for retired individuals is 30% as compared with the average of 23%.

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

Conducting the survey

	Germans	Italians	French
Number of interviews conducted	1,536	1,493	1,470
Survey dates	April 19- May 18 2007	November 24 2007- January 8, 2008	February 4- March 17 2008
Average interview duration	63 minutes	52 minutes	54 minutes

Source: *Crossing Cultures*, DEPS, Ministry of Culture, 2008

RÉSUMÉ

L'étude *Cultures croisées* analyse les références culturelles communes et réciproques – une approche de l'interculturalité – des Allemands, des Italiens et des Français en matière de patrimoine architectural, historique, littéraire, cinématographique, théâtral et lyrique et sur des références ou des figures de la culture populaire. Conduite auprès de 4 500 personnes dans les trois populations, cette enquête, inédite dans son domaine et par son ampleur, cherche à sonder le fondement commun des cultures en Europe, d'une culture européenne ou de l'identité culturelle européenne par la culture. Les résultats confirment la corrélation des connaissances et du niveau d'éducation, mettent en évidence la prégnance des stéréotypes sur les peuples et l'absence d'une véritable culture commune. L'existence de quelques références transnationales massivement partagées montre néanmoins que l'interculturalité, qui suppose la connaissance des autres peuples, n'est pas hors de portée. L'étude invite à repenser objectifs, méthodes et outils de l'interculturalité européenne.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Mit einem Ansatz der Interkulturalität analysiert die Studie *Kreuzung der Kulturen* die gemeinsamen und gegenseitigen kulturellen Referenzen der Deutschen, Italiener und Franzosen in Bezug auf das architektonische, historische, literarische, lyrische, Film- und Theatererbe sowie Referenzen oder Persönlichkeiten der Volkskultur. Im Rahmen dieser Studie wurden in den drei Ländern 4.500 Personen befragt. Die aufgrund ihres Themas und Umfangs einmalige Studie will das gemeinsame Fundament der Kulturen in Europa, einer europäischen Kultur oder der kulturellen europäischen Identität durch die Kultur erforschen. Die Ergebnisse bestätigen den engen Zusammenhang zwischen Kenntnis und Bildungsniveau, sie heben die Prägnanz von Stereotypen auf die Völker hervor und dass es keine wirklich gemeinsame Kultur gibt. Aber das Bestehen einiger weit verbreiteter transnationaler Referenzen belegt, dass die Interkulturalität, die Kenntnisse anderer Völker voraussetzt, kein unerreichbarer Traum ist. Die Studie lädt dazu sein, die Ziele, Methoden und Instrumente der europäischen Interkulturalität zu überdenken.

SINTESI

Lo studio *Incroccio di culture* analizza le differenze culturali comuni e reciproche – un approccio all'interculturalità – di tedeschi, italiani e francesi in materia di patrimonio architettonico, storico, letterario, cinematografico, teatrale e lirico e sui riferimenti o le figure della cultura popolare. L'inchiesta è stata condotta su 4.500 persone appartenenti alle tre popolazioni: si tratta di un'iniziativa inedita nel proprio ambito e per portata, che mira a sondare il fondamento comune delle culture in Europa, di una cultura europea o dell'identità culturale europea mediante la cultura. I risultati confermano la correlazione delle conoscenze e del livello di istruzione, mettono in evidenza la pregnanza degli stereotipi sui popoli e l'assenza di una vera e propria cultura comune. L'esistenza di alcuni riferimenti transnazionali fortemente condivisi mostra tuttavia che l'interculturalità, che suppone la conoscenza degli altri popoli, non è irraggiungibile. Lo studio invita pertanto a ripensare gli obiettivi, i metodi e gli strumenti dell'interculturalità europea.

ABSTRACT

The *Crossing Cultures* study takes an intercultural approach to the analysis of common and mutual cultural references shared by the German, Italian and French people in areas such as architectural, historical, literary, cinematographic, theatrical and musical heritage, as well as popular cultural references or figures. Polling 4,500 people across the three countries, this survey is original in scope and content: it seeks to survey the common foundation of cultures within Europe, the foundation of a European culture or of the European identity through culture. The results confirm a correlation between knowledge and educational level, and also highlight the persistence of national stereotypes and the lack of any genuine common culture. Nevertheless, the existence of several very widely-shared transnational references demonstrates that interculturality, which presupposes a knowledge of other peoples, is not entirely out of reach. The study encourages us to reassess the aims, methods and tools of European interculturality.